
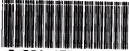



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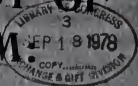
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Representing the Socialist Party of Great Britain

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS

Prospective Conservative Candidate for
Wandsworth,

On **TUESDAY, MAY 21st, 1912,**

HELD AT

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* 5

THE LABOUR PARTY.

AGENDA

TO BE

DISCUSSED AT THE

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

TO BE HELD IN THE CITY HALL,
CANDLERIGGS, GLASGOW, ON
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28TH, 1914,
TO 11 A.M., AND TWO FOLLOWING
DAYS

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#6

THE LABOUR PARTY

SPECIAL CONFERENCE

ON

The Electoral and Parliamentary Policy
of the Party,

CITY HALL, GLASGOW,
TUESDAY, JAN. 27th, 1914

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THE PRINCIPLES OF THE LABOUR PARTY

#11

BY SIDNEY & BEATRICE WEBB

THE reorganisation of the Labour Party compels us once more to think out the principles on which the Party is based. We do not mean the Party Programme, or the particular issues on which it will fight the forthcoming General Election. Behind the programme of any Party which is more than a machine for getting men into office there must lie intellectual principles and moral aims; and it is in the real presence of these in the communion, one with another, of the mass of members of the Party, that its salvation resides. It is often said that the intellectual basis of the Labour Party is Socialism itself. But what, from this standpoint, is Socialism?

§ I. Revolt against Inequality of Circumstance

We are in revolt against the present inequality of circumstance—summed up in the fact that one-tenth of the population owns nine-tenths of the wealth, and two-thirds of them, that is to say, the manual working class, obtain for all their needs only one-third of the produce of each year's work. We see that this inequality means, to the multitude who are poor, maimed faculties and thwarted desires, unnecessary disease and premature death, and, in the worst cases, squalid bestiality and demoralisation of body and soul. We know that it means to the minority, who are rich, an extraordinary callousness and a naïve insolence, the more insidious in that it is unselfconscious, whilst in the worst cases we have a fantastic licentiousness. We do not attribute this tragic division of our race into the rich and the poor to any exceptional cruelty or greed among those who happen to be wealthy; nor to any exceptional lack of capacity or industry among those who happen to be poor. We realise, what the economists have taught us, that this evil distribution of material resources is an inevitable result of the "Law of Rent" in a society based on the private ownership of land and capital. It can be remedied only by the vesting of land and capital in common ownership.* But a mere transfer of land and capital to representatives of the community—whether elected by the consumers or by the producers of services or commodities—would not, in itself, bring about equality of circumstance. The nation would still have to decide how the annual aggregate of produce should be shared. We suggest that in this matter the community must deliberately "choose equality"; and it is this voluntary choice of equality that is one of the fundamental principles of the Labour Party.

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LABOUR



AND

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

A REPORT ON RECONSTRUCTION

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THE LABOUR PARTY: ITS PRO- GRAMME AND ITS POSSIBILITIES.

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beginning 26th April, 1918, by The
Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.,
Mr. Bernard Shaw & Mr. Sidney Webb.

Programme.

- I. 26 April. THE AIMS OF LABOUR.
Chairman: Mr. MAURICE HEWLETT.
Lecturer: The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.
- II. 3 May. NATIONAL FINANCE: WHAT THE LABOUR
PARTY INTENDS.
Chairman: Miss MACARTHUR.
Lecturer: Mr. SIDNEY WEBB.
- III 10 May. THE CLIMATE AND SOIL FOR LABOUR
CULTURE.
Chairman: The Rt. Hon. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.
Lecturer: Mr. BERNARD SHAW.

Syllabus of each Lecture will be found on the following pages.

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— THE —

LABOUR PARTY.

The chief Objects of the Labour Party are :

To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

Generally, to promote the Political, Social, and Economic Emancipation of the People, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions, by hand or by brain, for the means of life.

—CONSTITUTION, Section III.

The above Programme is, first and foremost,

AN

Anti-Profitteering Programme.

It calls for immediate legislation to effect
A Drastic Reduction in the
Cost of Living in the direct
and indirect interests of all
the Breadwinners of the Nation

—including workers in every profession—
Civil Servants, Municipal Employees,
Teachers, Salary-earners and Wage-earners
of every class and degree—as well as of
persons dependent upon pensions, annuities,
and small fixed incomes.

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#15

WHY the MEN and WOMEN WHO WORK on the LAND

Should JOIN A UNION and

VOTE for the LABOUR CANDIDATE

BECAUSE the Labour Party has now become the party of all who live by their own work, as opposed to those who live on or by the work of others.

BECAUSE the Labour representatives on the District, Wages Committees have wrung

A HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE

from the farmers, both for men and women workers, and if the Labour Party is sufficiently strengthened in Parliament, a still higher minimum wage will be made legal and permanent.

Hitherto the landlord's claim has come first, the farmer's next, and the worker has had to be content with what was left! The Labour Party insists that the first charge on the land, in good seasons and in bad, must be a decent living wage for all the workers upon it.

BECAUSE the Labour Party asks for a shorter working day and is determined that every farm worker shall have a

WEEKLY HALF-HOLIDAY,

like the town workman, and have it made legal by Act of Parliament.

BECAUSE the Labour Party means to free the farm worker from the servitude of having to live in a cottage owned by his employer, from which he can be turned out on the roadside at a week's notice; and is pledged to secure for every worker

A BETTER HOME

which he can call his own, with a good garden attached.

BECAUSE the Labour Party stands for farm workers having greater power on all local bodies, and thus have a greater say in distributing local charities, in building cottages, in getting allotments, and in the education of their children.

BECAUSE the Labour Party is the only Party which is in earnest in restoring to the people the land which has been robbed from them, so that every rural worker will be able once again to keep his pig, and have sufficient land for grazing as well as for growing roots and hay.

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WHY BRAIN-WORKERS

#16

SHOULD JOIN

THE LABOUR PARTY

AND

Vote for the Labour Candidates.

Because the Labour Party has now become the party of all who live by their own work, either of hand or brain, as opposed to those who live on or by the work of others.

Because the Labour Party, unlike any other political party, knows what it wants: it has a definite policy and programme designed to promote the interests of all workers.

Because the Labour Party is constituted on a democratic basis so that every member has a direct voice in its counsels. In the orthodox parties the ordinary member is a mere cipher, powerless to influence the party machine.

Because the Labour Party is entirely independent of secret party funds, is supported by the contributions of its individual members and constituent organisations, and disdains the support of vested interests behind the scenes.

Because the Labour Party stands for a national minimum standard of subsistence, of health, of leisure, of security.

Because the Labour Party stands for free secondary education, for wider educational facilities, and equality of opportunity for all classes and both sexes in every sphere of national life.

Because the Labour Party will reform the system of taxation so as to place the main financial burden on the broadest shoulders, by means of a steeply-graduated Income Tax.

Because the Labour Party will revise the basis of the Income Tax, so that proper relief will be given in respect of dependants, and the tax will be assessed on the basis of the family income and not that of the individual: so that those who have only themselves to support will have to pay more than those who have to support others—wife, children, or other relatives.

WHY WOMEN SHOULD JOIN THE LABOUR PARTY

AND

VOTE for the LABOUR CANDIDATES

Because the Labour Party is the People's Party, the party of freedom against monopoly, of co-operation against competition, of equality against the privileges of wealth and place.

Because the Labour Party is the only political party which has stood for full Adult Suffrage and the rights of citizenship for women on the same terms as men; and is the only party which gives women a fair share in the management of its affairs and the shaping of its policy.

Because the Labour Party believes that men and women must work together to build society anew when the horrors of war are past.

Because the Labour Party is resolved there shall be no more War, and is seeking a People's Peace, founded on the principles of justice and freedom, no annexations and no penal indemnities; it is working for the establishment of a League of Nations for international co-operation and the maintenance of Peace, instead of a system of State alliances, buttressed by competitive armaments and protective tariffs, by which national antagonisms are engendered and lead to further wars.

Because the Labour Party seeks to do away with the miseries of poverty, insecurity of employment, and ill-health.

Because the Labour Party believes that the health of every woman and every baby is of national importance, and will work to establish a system of full and complete medical and nursing care for all.

Because the Labour Party is determined to reform the whole system of Housing, and to give expression to the views of women so that in future they shall decide what kind of house they want, and insist upon the State and Municipal authorities providing it.

Do You Want Your Soldier Home?

What is it we all want now the war is over?

Release for British soldiers as soon as possible. Isn't that it?

The soldiers want to get back, their wives and families and fathers and mothers want them back, the nation needs them for the work of reconstructing all that has been smashed or damaged by the war.

They have done their part magnificently. They have borne dangers and hardships without number doggedly and even cheerfully. They have won the war and saved the world from Militarism. Now they want their reward.

Not a high reward. Not titles and ribands and grants of public money such as high officers will get. Not riches such as profiteers have amassed. All the soldiers want is to be allowed to go home.

Now, the great question at this General Election is:

ARE THE SOLDIERS TO BE ALLOWED TO GO HOME?

In a newspaper which belongs to the Northcliffe Group, and is therefore in a position to give authoritative news about Government intentions, there have appeared grave and disquieting statements bearing on this question.

The *Evening News* of November 14 said in an article evidently inspired from high quarters:

"It is premature to imagine that any large number of men can be immediately released from the seat of war, or that demobilisation can begin for some time to come."

Later in the article followed an explanation of this unpleasant damping down of the nation's hopes:

"The whole of Central and Eastern Europe is in a state of extreme unrest from the Rhine to the Urals, and the Allies are pledged to reconstruct a new Europe out of this chaos."

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Why the Labour Party supports the Nationalisation of Mines and Railways.

The best way to work Mines and Railways is by national direction and district management. Thus the labour employed is more efficiently used, and there are no armies of idle shareholders and royalty owners and ornamental directors drawing fees.

NATIONALISATION IS EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY.

Private ownership of mines and railways means that the coal supplies are recklessly exploited, involving great waste of the nation's coal, and distributed at extravagant prices to the consumer; that whole districts are left without proper railway or traffic facilities; and that canals are neglected lest they should compete with existing railways and disturb the market value of railway shares.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IS INEFFICIENCY AND WASTE.

If our nation is to find its feet after the war it must organise a complete system of national transport and communication, unified and working in harmony from one end of the country to the other, designed for national development, not for the profits of shareholders and the convenience of directors. The private ownership of railways prevents this.

NATIONALISATION MEANS A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF TRANSPORT.

An ample and a cheap coal supply is essential as a means of life, and for industrial security and development. Coal distribution should be in each locality a municipal duty. But this can be arranged only if the mines are under public control. Cheap transport is the life-blood of industry and indispensable for the distribution of foodstuffs.

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#20

BELIEVE IN EDUCATION

SHOULD JOIN

THE LABOUR PARTY

AND

Vote for the Labour Candidates.

BECAUSE a free and generous educational system is the condition of personal development, of vigorous and independent citizenship, and of social equality.

BECAUSE to establish such a system it is necessary to get rid of all class distinctions and privileges, and bring effectively within the reach of every boy and girl all the training of which he or she is capable.

BECAUSE the other parties have shown that while they will only tinker with educational reform, the Labour Party put forward a complete programme of Educational Reconstruction, embracing all aspects of Education from the Nursery School to the University.

BECAUSE the Labour Party stands for a system of efficient Nursery Schools for those children between 2 and 6 years of age whose parents may desire them to attend.

BECAUSE not less than one out of every six of the children attending the elementary schools are suffering from physical defects that can be cured, and the Labour Party is pledged to secure free Medical Treatment, without contribution from the parents, for all children and young persons attending elementary, secondary, and continuation schools.

BECAUSE the system, caused by a short-sighted financial meanness, under which one teacher is placed in charge of a class of from 50 to 70 children is harmful to the child, unfair to the teacher, and wasteful of public money. The Labour Party stands for the reduction of all classes in the elementary schools to not more than 40 immediately, and ultimately to not more than 30.

BECAUSE the Labour Party demands the payment to teachers, in place of the miserable

.L32 29

WHY NOT ABOLISH THE POOR LAW?

The Labour Party has repeatedly asked for the complete

Abolition of the Workhouse,

and the very idea of pauperism ; and this has now been accepted by Ministers on the unanimous advice of the Local Government Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. This involves the

Abolition of the Boards of Guardians,

and the merging of their functions in the directly-elected Town and County, and the larger District Councils.

Such policy is hard on those Poor Law Guardians who have striven, with some local success, to make the Poor Law more humane, and to improve the treatment of the children, the sick, and the aged. Why should they be abolished?

Even the best Boards of Guardians must go,

Because even they cannot get rid of the Stigma of Pauperism.

Because, even at its best, the General Mixed Workhouse is a horror.

Because neither the Children, the Sick, the Mentally-Defective, nor the Aged ought ever to be brought in contact with the Poor Law, even by the kindest Poor Law Guardian.

The whole Poor Law system must be swept away.

Because it has become unnecessary. Its work is everywhere becoming a duplicate. The children can now, with very slight extensions of the existing Acts, be looked after by the Local Education Authority, the infants and sick and infirm by the Local Health Authority ; the mentally deficient by the Local Lunacy Authority ; the able-bodied by the Local Employment Authority ; and the families temporarily distressed, in the same way that the Old Age Pensions now are—by the Local Pensions Authority.

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THE MAN WHO IS BUYING HIS HOUSE.

Several hundred thousand heads of families in Great Britain are buying houses by instalments, usually through a Building or Co-operative Society.

How will they be Affected by the Conscription of Wealth?

How will their Accumulated Savings Fare under the Labour Party Programme?

There are people who say that what the Labour Party proposes is to take away the house from the man who is buying—to tax him out of all his savings! This is untrue.

The fact is that, under the legislation passed by the Liberal and Conservative Parties—Parties both dominated by the wealthy—the Man who is Buying his House is very badly treated at present. He has usually a total income that makes him liable for Income Tax; and he is compelled to include as income the gross assessment of the house he is buying and occupying, although he is drawing none of this value in cash. No other emolument, apart from money income, is assessable to Income Tax. He has even to pay out money, year by year, in repairs; but the Surveyor of Taxes makes no allowance for that beyond the difference between the gross and rateable value. He may deduct anything he pays as ground-rent, chief rent, or feu duty; and also whatever may be calculated as his annual payment for interest. But what he pays as instalment of purchase money he is not allowed to deduct. When, formerly, he paid rent to a landlord the house that he occupied was not counted as part of his income. Now that he pays, year by year, not rent but considerably larger sums to his Building Society, the Surveyor of Taxes insists on charging him Income Tax on the greater part of these instalments.

This is not all. When he made up his mind to save by buying his house, he was charged a substantial sum in the lawyer's bill for the stamps on the conveyance and the mortgage. This is the same on the small investment of his initial deposit as if he had paid down ten times the amount. When he dies, his widow will be rewarded for her share in the saving by having to pay Death Duties

HOUSING.

What the Labour Party Wants.

For years, before the war put a stop to house-building, the supply of dwelling-houses decreased annually. To meet the needs of the growing population in seventy of the largest towns, containing an aggregate population of 13,000,000, only one-half the number of houses were built during the second five of the last ten years under pre-war conditions, as compared with the first five of the same ten years. Consequently there was, even before the war, a great scarcity of houses. Under war-time conditions this scarcity has been enormously increased.

The Labour Party, before the war, pointed out that **PRIVATE ENTERPRISE FAILED TO PROVIDE HOUSES FOR THE PEOPLE,**

and advocated extensive building operations by municipalities assisted by the State. The Labour Party was not strong enough then to force the hand of the Government, but the Irish Nationalist Party was, with the result that, although £4,250,000 was spent by the Government on rehousing the rural population of Ireland between the years 1906 and 1910, neither the rural nor the town population of Great Britain got anything for housing from the Government except Acts of Parliament without any money grants in them, which are therefore nearly as useless as motors without petrol. So great is the scarcity of houses in some of the large towns of Great Britain, that there are advertisements appearing in the newspapers daily offering sums of £5 and over for the opportunity of renting a house of three or five rooms.

No half measures will suffice to meet the requirements of the working-classes in regard to housing accommodation, and no Party but the Labour Party is willing to take the necessary steps to provide housing accommodation of the quality and to the amount required.

To make good the proved existing shortage, at least

A MILLION ADDITIONAL COTTAGES ARE URGENTLY NECESSARY.

apart from the usual annual increase. Without further delay, the Government should put into force a National House Building and Town Planning Scheme, which will secure to every citizen the best home and working surroundings, at a rental within the means of wage-earners. With proper provisions for town-rebuilding the scheme ought also to bring the social advantages of town life within the reach of the rural workers.

Whilst giving every encouragement and its full share of financial assistance to every local authority willing to act promptly and effectively to provide dwelling-houses under suitable conditions, the Government must not be allowed to shirk its own responsibility. The need for houses is a national one, due to a large extent to national causes.

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WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE NAVY?

The ships are all right.

The officers are good fellows.

The men are splendid.

But what wants overhauling is the management.

Only the House of Commons can secure a prompt redress of grievances.

THE LABOUR PARTY'S

CHARTER OF THE LOWER DECK:

PAY: Separation Allowances to be continued after the war, irrespective of any allotment of pay, the rates being revised according to the cost of living.

PENSION: Rates and conditions to be made more liberal, and adjusted from time to time to meet alterations in the cost of living.

EDUCATION: Facilities and encouragement to be given to men afloat to improve themselves educationally. Schoolmasters (having no other duties except in action and in training for action) to be appointed to ships or establishments in the ratio of one per two hundred of complement; and to have rank and pay sufficient to attract the best talent.

PROMOTION: A wide and easy road to be opened for deserving men for quick promotion from the Lower Deck (all branches) to Commissioned Ranks, as in the Army in wartime. Not less than twenty per cent. of Commissions in all branches to be definitely reserved for Lower Deck promotions, made before attaining the age of thirty-five. Liberal Separation Allowances to be made to officers promoted from the Lower Deck to enable them to accept Commissioned Rank, and to permit them to marry without financial strain.

Fitness and efficiency to be the only tests. Candidates for promotion to be chosen by a Port or Squadron Committee in each command. (Two members of the Committee to be themselves commissioned officers promoted from the Lower Deck, and one to belong to the same branch of the Service as the candidate).

A Training College can be established to provide, free of charge, the necessary instruction for Lower Deck candidates recommended for commissions, and to be open to members of the Lower Deck for short courses.

INTERNAL DISCIPLINE: The plan, already successfully tried in certain of H.M. ships, of dispensing altogether with Ship's Police, and maintaining discipline by selected Petty Officers, to be generally adopted. The Naval Discipline Act, the King's Regulations, and the Admiralty instructions to be revised, with the view to the institution of a modern code of discipline on definite principles, and the diminution of the number of punishable offences, and the reduction of the terms of imprisonment. The procedure at Courts Martial to be modernised. One officer of the Branch of the Service to which the accused belongs to be

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TAX THE RICH OR TAX THE POOR?

The Real Election Issue.

The TORY-LIBERAL Coalition demands:

More Taxes on the people;

The return of the nation's ships, factories,
railways, canals, and coal mines to the
profiteer!

Let the food speculator do his worst!

REMEMBER!

After paying their Income Tax, Super Tax, and
Excess Profits Tax,

3 Super-tax payers and

100 Working-class families have the same annual
income.

Those who pay Super-tax are few in number—
not more than the number of electors in the
average constituency. But they control the
Coalition, control the Liberal Party, control
Parliament, control Big Business and
Industry, control the Food Supply, control
the Press.

The Super-tax Payers are solid for the Tories and
Liberals.

**YOUR INTEREST IS TO VOTE
LABOUR.**

**THE LABOUR PARTY INSISTS
THAT**

Public Services shall be owned by the public for
the Public Service and Profit.

The Rich must Bear the Burden.

Heavier taxes for the Super-tax Payer!

The present £110 millions a year from the
working-class in national taxes is quite
enough—not a penny more!

No protective customs' duties, even if they call
them Colonial Preference.

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#26

WHY I SHALL VOTE LABOUR.

A Working Woman's Letter from "Blighty."

"What am I going to do with the vote now I have got it?" Well, I am not going to waste it! This war and your being away has taught me a lot of things that I never thought about before, and one of them is that all of us who are soldiers' wives and soldiers' widows have got to support the Labour Party in this election. I wonder if you are going to get the chance to use your vote? Lloyd George talked a lot about giving it to you, but he is having this General Election in such a rush that I am sure a lot of you will never get the chance. Well, we on this side will have to make up for you. I know you'll be writing to me next time and asking what I know about politics that makes me so sure about my vote, so I'm going to tell you now.

"The first thing is that the Labour Party has stood up for us all the time. From the very beginning they have tried to get our separation allowances raised, and to get your pay increased. Just think of what the Australians get, and that's because of the number of Labour voters they have there. You know what the price of food is, the price of clothes, and everything else.

"Then there are the rents. Do you remember the dreadful tales of soldiers' wives who were threatened with eviction, and the poor things had to come up before the magistrates in the courts and try to keep their homes? It was not only that the Labour Party helped them over that, but they got the Rent Restriction Act passed so that the landlords couldn't put rents up any more and had to let the tenant stay in the house as long as she paid regularly. What I'm afraid of is that now houses are scarcer than ever the Act will come to an end; but the Labour Party have promised to keep it in force until plenty of houses have been built. They are planning to have houses built as we working women want to have them, with enough bedrooms for the children, bath rooms, and hot water, plenty of cupboards, and a bit of garden.

"But it's the food that seems to me more important still. I used to think of you when I was standing in the food queues last winter. It wasn't as bad as the trenches, but oh, dear, how cold and dismal it was! Sometimes I waited hours, and then I got nothing. It was the Labour Party with their policy of controlling the food profiteers and giving us rations that helped us out. The old ration books are a bother, but it means that we all share alike and can be sure of getting something. Prices have gone up a little in the last year, but they have not gone up nearly so much as they did the years before. And the Labour Party want food control to continue until prices are right down and we are sure of getting all we need. Indeed they say, 'If the trader wasn't patriotic in war

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#27

To the Soldier

Serving and Discharged

The Labour Party would be untrue to its principles if it neglected your interests. You belong to the working-class; YOU WILL RETURN TO THE WORKING-CLASS.

Private monopoly in land, excessive rents, bad houses, unemployment will oppress and sacrifice you because you are of the working-class.

Your Politics are the Politics of the Working-Class and therefore your place is in the

LABOUR PARTY

What has the Labour Party done for you

Its members brought your grievances before the House of Commons.

It has agitated for adequate PENSIONS for you.

A demobilised army gives Capitalism a great chance to exploit labour, to reduce wages, to use the hunger of the unemployed (especially if they have pensions or allowances) for its own purposes.

The Labour Movement will protect you against this.

The Labour Party has stood for a system of Demobilisation fair to the soldier, with trade unions and working-class organisations co-operating.

WHEN YOU WERE AWAY IN THE FIELD

The Labour Party watched the interests of your wives and families and dependents. It demanded adequate separation allowances, and forced the Government to give something. It did not see why the State should practise economy on your families—and apparently on them alone. It did not see why your dependents should be kept in a worse position than those of the men who were working at home.

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#28

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH

Even if the war stops in November, 1918, it will have cost this country the colossal figure of

7,000 MILLION POUNDS,

equal to more than one-third of the wealth of all the men and women of the country before the war. A small part of this war cost has been lent to the Government by the workers and others who have invested their savings in war certificates or war bonds; but most of it has been lent to the Government by rich men out of the huge profits made by war contracts. When the war is over all these people will have to be paid back.

TWO WAYS OF PAYING IT.

One way of doing this will be to pay interest on the debt every year out of very heavy taxes on food, tobacco, incomes, etc. That is the way the debts on the wars of last century were provided for. Between 1814 and 1914 the British people had paid in interest alone on the Napoleonic War

TWICE THE COST OF THE WAR,

and yet a great part of the debt is still unpaid. The Conservative and Liberal parties propose to adopt the same method to-day. If they are allowed to do so, it means that industry is crushed and millions of people live in grinding poverty while a few rich people have every luxury.

A LEVY ON CAPITAL.

The other way (commonly called the Conscription of Wealth) is to put a special levy on all wealth when the war is over, and so wipe the whole debt away at once. This is the method recommended by the Labour Party. It will enable taxes to be reduced and the cost of living to go down.

WHO WILL PAY?

The rate of the levy will be graduated so that people with small savings—say up to £1,000—will not have to pay anything. Those with a few thousand pounds will pay a little, but less than they would have to pay if the other method were adopted. The people who will pay most will be those very rich men whose great incomes are unearned, or who have accumulated huge wealth by profiteering.

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#29

WHY THE LABOUR PARTY IS OPPOSED TO ALL PROTECTIVE CUSTOMS TARIFFS.

An attempt is being made by the enemies of Labour to impose on the country under one name or another the bad old system of customs duties on imports in order to raise the price of what the worker has to buy.

Whether this system of "Protection" by customs duties, without a corresponding Excise Duty, is called Imperial or Colonial Preference, or is advanced as a means of retaliating on Germany, or for any other reason, it cuts right across the programme of Labour and menaces everything for which Labour stands, and ought to stand.

This has been fully recognised by the great majority of Labour men and women throughout Great Britain.

In January, 1917, the Labour Party Conference representing Trade Unionists and Socialists, passed a unanimous Resolution repudiating all forms of Protection by Customs Duties. In September, 1917, the Trades Union Congress passed a similar Resolution by 2,338,000 votes to 278,000 votes. In September, 1918, it repeated its vote by 2,711,000 against 591,000.

In so doing the delegates of the organised working men and women showed their loyalty to the cause of Labour. We can see this if we compare the things for which Labour stands with those for which Protection stands.

Labour stands for high wages.

Fiscal Protection is a subtle way of lowering wages.

The wages a man obtains are in reality not the money he is paid, but the things he can buy with the money.

If he can buy plenty of good food and clothes, and obtain a good house, then his wages are good; if he can only obtain poor and insufficient food and clothing, and a cramped, unhealthy house, then his wages are bad.

Fiscal Protection aims at raising the prices of all commodities

(including food, clothing, and other necessities), so that those who deal in them can make larger profits, and thus in effect lower the real wages of Labour.

Labour aims at placing taxes on those who can best afford to pay them.

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#30

WHY LABOUR SUPPORTS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The present War was to be the WAR TO END WAR.

If it does not end War, WAR WILL END US.

We know now what War is.

It is not an honest fight according to the rules.

It is the killing and maiming of men, not by hundreds and thousands, but by TENS of MILLIONS.

It is BOMBS, TANKS, KNIVES, POISON GAS.

It is the murder of women and children from the air.

It is the sinking at sight, without warning, of ships at sea.

And the next war will not be better than this one.

It will be much worse.

For every nation will devote all its science to inventing new means of destruction.

If there is to be another war, all nations will devote themselves to preparing for it.

This will mean UNIVERSAL MILITARY CONSCRIPTION.

It may, very likely, mean INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

It will mean that there will be a powerful class of professional officers, desiring and working for war, and controlling policy.

That is to say, it will mean UNIVERSAL MILITARISM.

Thus, if this war against Militarism does not end Militarism by ending war, it will establish Militarism in this country and in all countries.

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#31

What the LABOUR PARTY

MEANS BY

HOME RULE ALL ROUND

AND

A Democratic Administration for
the Whole British Commonwealth
of Nations.

LABOUR BELIEVES IN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Labour Party is pledged to a scheme of separate statutory Legislatures for Scotland, Wales, and even England, as well as for Ireland, as part of the larger plan of constitutional reform which will transform the British Empire into a Britannic Federation, or

COMMONWEALTH OF BRITISH SELF-GOVERNING COMMUNITIES.

The Labour Party advocates the establishment of these local Parliaments to deal with both legislation and administration in matters of exclusively local concern, on the basis of complete autonomy, with

A COUNCIL FOR THE WHOLE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

The Labour Party, having experience of the congestion of the Parliamentary machine, urges the necessity of having a Council, without coercive authority, to deal with inter-dominion and international affairs and suggest the necessary legislation to the several Parliaments. This Council should exercise control over the Ministers responsible for the departments of the Federal Government, who will form, with the Ministers representing the overseas Dominions and India,

A CABINET FOR THE COMMONWEALTH AS A WHOLE.

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#32

FREEDOM

**IS THE BASIS OF THE LABOUR
PARTY'S POLICY.**

Why all who believe in Freedom should Vote for the Labour Candidates

Because the Labour Party stands for a Free Press and for the abolition of the Censorship.

Because the Labour Party seeks for the people knowledge undiluted by the Government, and stands for the abolition of the Ministry of Information.

Because the Labour Party will do away with the whole system of spying by the Police or by the Postal Censor as an assistance to the political aims of the Government.

Because the Labour Party believes in free choice and stands for the abolition of conscription immediately on the conclusion of hostilities.

Because the Labour Party upholds government by a democratic Parliament and is out for the abolition of D.O.R.A. and all orders and regulations restrictive of personal freedom under it immediately on the conclusion of hostilities.

Because the Labour Party will see that the educational system is kept free from militarism, and that no political test and no form of political doctrine is imposed on teachers.

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#33

ORGANISATION OF WOMEN

WITHIN

THE LABOUR PARTY

The Work of the Women's Sections

I.—CONSTITUTION OF WOMEN'S SECTIONS.

THE Constitution of the Labour Party provides for the establishment of a Local Labour Party in each borough constituency and in each urban district of a county constituency. The Women's Section in each consists of the individual women members of the Local Labour Party. Any woman accepting the principles and agreeing to abide by the rules of the Labour Party may join a Local Labour Party as an individual member on payment of the subscription fixed by the rules of the Party, which must not be less than 6d. a year. Members of associations such as trade unions which are already affiliated to the Local Labour Party are also eligible to become individual members on payment of the subscription.

In County Divisions there must be a Divisional Labour Party covering the whole constituency, and in each Urban District a Local Labour Party which will be represented on the General Council of the Divisional Labour Party. In the Rural Districts of County Divisions there are Polling District Committees which men and women join, and it is advisable to form a Women's Group in each Rural District in order to promote organisation amongst them. In Divided Boroughs (i.e., Boroughs consisting of more than one constituency) the Constitution provides for the establishment of a Central Labour Party, on which the Local Labour Party in each constituency will be represented. In a Central Labour Party it may be well to form a Women's Association consisting of all the individual women members of all the Local Labour Parties, which will help to carry out in all parts of the Borough the work of political organisation amongst women. By thus joining all the forces of the women greater stimulus will be given to educational political work amongst them. In a similar way the County Divisions might arrange for the formation of such an Association linking up the women of the Local Labour Parties and the rural Polling District Committees.

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#34

THE LABOUR PARTY.

LABOUR

AND

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THE LABOUR PARTY

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#36

Labour's Call to The People!

The Labour Party has left the Coalition, and is appealing to the men and women of the country with a programme that is a challenge to reaction.

A PEACE OF RECONCILIATION.

Victory has been achieved, and Labour claims no mean share in its achievement. Not only have the workers supplied the vast majority of our soldiers and sailors, and sustained the burden of war at home: the democratic diplomacy which found expression in the War Aims of Labour has been one of the most powerful factors in winning the war, and must be the most powerful factor in the rebuilding of the world. The Peace which Labour demands is a Peace of International Co-operation. It declares absolutely against secret diplomacy and any form of economic war, and demands, as an essential part of the Peace Treaty, an International Labour Charter incorporated in the very structure of a League of Free Peoples.

HANDS OFF DEMOCRACY!

Labour welcomes the extension of liberty and democracy in Europe. It has warned the Coalition that opposition towards the young democracies of the Continent, and especially that intervention on the side of European reaction, will be disastrous. Labour demands the immediate withdrawal of the Allied forces from Russia. In the interest of world-democracy, it stands for the immediate restoration of the Workers' International.

FREEDOM FOR IRELAND.

The Principles which Labour acclaim as Allied War Aims it will apply to our own subject peoples. Freedom for Ireland and India it claims as democratic rights, and it will extend to all subject peoples the right of self-determination within the British Commonwealth of Free Nations.

Labour's appeal to the people is not a sectional appeal, unless an appeal which excludes only militarists, profiteers and place-hunters be regarded as sectional. It includes all who are determined that the fruits of victory shall not be wasted in the interests of riches or reaction. Especially does Labour appeal to two sections of the community—to the soldiers and sailors who have fought the nation's battles abroad, and to the men and women workers at home.

NO CONSCRIPTION!

The returning soldier or sailor will find himself once more a worker. His cause is one with that of the workers at home. Civil and industrial liberties have been largely suspended during the war; and soldier and worker want their liberties back now. The Labour Party stands for the destruction of all war-time measures in restraint of civil or industrial liberty, the repeal of the Defence of the Realm Act, the complete abolition of Conscription, and the release of all political prisoners. It stands for free citizenship, a Free Parliament, for Free Speech, and against the domination of the Press by sinister political influences.

THE LAND FOR THE WORKERS.

The Labour Party means to introduce large schemes of land reorganisation, and it is fully aware that this can only be done in the teeth of the most powerful vested interests. Land nationalisation is a vital necessity: the land is the People's, and must be developed so as to afford a high standard of life to a growing rural population not by subsidies or tariffs, but by scientific methods, and the freeing of the soil from landlordism and reaction.

A MILLION GOOD HOUSES.

Labour demands a substantial and permanent improvement in the housing of the whole people. At least a million new houses must be built at once at the State's expense, and let at fair rents, and these houses must be fit for men and women to live in. Labour will press for a really comprehensive Public Health Act co-ordinating all health authorities, based on prevention rather than cure, and free from servile or inquisitorial features. It will also press for real Public Education, free and open to all, with maintenance scholarships without distinction of class, and for justice to the teachers upon whom education finally depends.

TUTORIAL CLASS **on the POLICY and** **PRINCIPLES of the** **LABOUR PARTY.**

The Fabian Society has arranged for a Tutorial Class on the above subject, which Wm. Stephen Sanders will conduct, on six successive Tuesdays, at 9 p.m., beginning on the 14th October, 1919. The Class will be held in the Fabian Hall, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster. Tickets for the Six Meetings, 10/6 each.

The Class will begin each day with an exposition of the principal points, in the course of which repeated opportunity will be given for questions. Any difficulties raised will be immediately dealt with, and questions may also be sent by post. A few books are mentioned in this Syllabus, and others will be suggested for consultation, whilst some of the documents and pamphlets referred to will be distributed free.

The Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

SECRETARY:
 Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

Telegraphic Address: "LABREPCOM, CHURTON, LONDON."
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THE LABOUR PARTY.

33, ECCLESTON SQUARE,
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To the Secretaries of Affiliated Societies.

December 1st, 1920.

DEAR SIR, OR MADAM,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

I am directed by the National Executive of the Party to inform you, in response to various enquiries from affiliated Local Parties, that the position of the Communist Party in relation to affiliation with the Labour Party, local and national, has now been fully considered by the National Executive.

A letter signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Provisional Committee for the Communist Party, embodying resolutions adopted by their inaugural Convention, defining the objects, methods and policy of the Communist Party, and containing an application for affiliation to the Labour Party, was considered by the National Executive at their meeting at Portsmouth on September 8th. After full consideration it was resolved that the application be declined, as the basis of affiliation to the Labour Party is the acceptance of its constitution, principles and programme, with which the objects of the Communist Party do not appear to be in accord.

The following is the letter received from the Communist Party:—

August 10th, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

At a National Convention held in London on Saturday and Sunday, July 31st and August 1st last, the Communist Party of Great Britain was established. The resolutions adopted by the Convention, defining the objects, methods and policy of the Communist Party read as follows:—

(a) "The Communists in conference assembled declare for the Soviet (or Workers' Council) system as a means whereby the working class shall achieve power and take control of the forces of production; declare for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary means for combating the counter-revolution during the transition period between Capitalism and Communism; and stand for the adoption of these means as steps towards the establishment of a system of complete Communism wherein all the means of production shall be communally owned and controlled. This conference therefore establishes itself the Communist Party on the foregoing basis and declares its adherence to the Third International."

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#40

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THE I.L.P.
AND THE
3rd INTERNATIONAL

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by the National Council of
the I.L.P.

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The Portrait of a Minister

PAINTED BY HIMSELF

SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD is Chief Secretary for Ireland. Four millions of people are in his care. The House of Commons has to rely on his knowledge, his promptness, and his sense of responsibility for the statements he makes. It is his duty to protect the civilian population from outrage at the hands of the armed forces of the Crown, and to safeguard the lives of his servants. The pages of Hansard for the last few weeks give us some idea of the manner in which he carries out these solemn duties.

The first thing to note about his speeches and answers is that he is fond of making sweeping declarations, with a gesture either of defiance or of triumph. We give two examples to show what authority these confident statements carry. In September, the Irish Government, acting under the Coercion Act, prohibited the holding of coroners' inquests in ten counties. The Irish Secretary said, on October 21:—

There is always an inquest into the death of a person found dead in Ireland. . . . I will see that the inquest is held in public as most inquests are; in fact, as far as I know, as all inquests are.

On November 16 it was pointed out to him that no coroner's inquest was allowed in the case of Annie O'Neill, the girl shot in Dublin.

Mr. Macveagh.—Will the right hon. gentleman answer my question? Does he still adhere to the statement that he made in this House three weeks ago that there is always a public inquest into every case of a person found dead in Ireland?

Sir H. Greenwood.—I can only repeat what I have said. *In certain parts of Ireland there are still inquests, mainly held by a coroner with a jury. In other parts of Ireland, for reasons of disturbance and the certainty of not getting an impartial jury, we have set up, according to the law passed by this House, military courts of inquiry.*

On the same day Sir H. Greenwood said, answering another question:—

The rule about courts of inquiry held in lieu of inquest in that whether they are open to the Press or public is a matter for the discretion of the court. . . .

On October 20 he made another sweeping statement, which greatly impressed the House:—

I have never seen a tittle of evidence to prove that the servants of the Crown have destroyed these creameries.

On November 16 Mr. Hogge asked:—

Whether an official report of the burning of the creameries of Tobarcurry and Achonry was issued from Dublin Castle to certain Press representatives on or before October 6; whether this report was drawn up by a senior police officer at the request of the Chief Secretary's Department; whether it was admitted in the report that these creameries were destroyed by the constabulary; and whether this report was presented to him before October 20, when he stated that he had never seen a tittle of evidence to prove that the servants of the Crown had destroyed creameries?

On November 25 Sir H. Greenwood made this reluctant admission:—

I have now received the full reports of the destruction of the two creameries, to which my attention had not been drawn when I made the observation to which the hon. gentleman refers, and I now find that it is admitted in each case that the burning was committed by members of the police force on October 1 in an outburst of passion evoked by the brutal murder of District Inspector Brady and the wounding of another of their comrades on the evening of the previous day.

There was a great deal of other evidence which he had disregarded, but this was the information of his own officials.

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#43

THE RIGHT TO SHOOT

(From Hansard)

"No one is in danger in Ireland who obeys the law."

SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD, House of Commons,
November 17th, 1920.

1. A DUBLIN GIRL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
15th November, 1920.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor : I wish further to ask him [the Chief Secretary] whether it is a fact that on Saturday evening a military party in pursuit of a crowd of men in Dublin shot a young girl aged 12 years, killing her almost immediately, and also wounding a five-year-old girl.

Sir Hamar Greenwood : In reference to the Dublin affair, I have received a telegraphic report to the effect that on Saturday evening, at about a quarter past five, two military lorries were passing down Charlemont Street, near Charlemont Avenue, in Dublin, when a group of five or six young men were observed to run away. They were ordered to halt, and on failing to do so, three shots were fired. I deeply regret to have to say that, as a result of the firing, a young girl named Annie O'Neill, aged 8 years, was killed, and another girl, named Teresa Kavanagh, was slightly wounded. The loss of this young innocent life is deplorable, but I hope the House will agree with me in the view that the responsibility does not rest upon the soldiers.

Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck : Is it the practice to fire on men who are running away ?

Sir H. Greenwood : Men who are ordered to halt and do not halt are fired at.

Mr. O'Connor : With reference to the very important statement which the right hon. gentleman made a few moments ago to the effect that he considered it to be the duty of the soldiers to fire when people do not halt upon command, may I ask whether he has considered the possibility of people running away in terror, and whether there is not in many cases a risk of people being shot down who were quite innocent and who acted, not in disobedience to the order to halt, but in terror of the result of the soldiers firing ?

Sir H. Greenwood : I appreciate perfectly the situation in Ireland to-day. In many counties, though not in most, it is tragic. But when men are ordered to halt, surely, if they are innocent men, they will halt.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
17th November, 1920.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether, at the military court which inquired into the death of the 12-year-old girl Annie O'Neill, in Dublin, the bereaved mother, who wished to be legally represented by her solicitor, was refused this request, and her solicitor denied admission to the Court. . . . and whether the group who remained behind were searched and no arms were found upon them.

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L32 Z9

#44

THEN AND NOW!

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ANSWERS THE PRIME MINISTER.

Ireland is now suffering from organised military reprisals. Mr. Lloyd George in 1900 was strongly opposed to the method on the ground that

REPRISALS VIOLATED THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE.

Now, in 1920, however, Mr. Lloyd George is responsible for this very policy.

In 1900 it was the Boer women and children who suffered.

Now it is the Irish.

The method is the same.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, AT CONWAY ON DECEMBER 28TH, 1900, SAID:—

"What justice was there in punishing one man for offences committed by others over whom he had no control. The 'clearing of the country' was an even more serious matter than the burning of farms."

The British Army had been engaged in denuding the country of cattle and sheep, and the homes of food supplies, and in burning farms. He made no charges against the British troops who were carrying out orders. But he did blame the Statesmen at home who made it absolutely necessary that the troops should engage in the work which they loathed.

He had seen letters from British officers who said they were disgusted with the work imposed upon them.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON DECEMBER 15TH, 1900.

SAID:—

"I do not believe the House or the country fully realise what is going on. I took the trouble a day or two ago to go through the columns of 'The Times' for the last couple of months with reference to the war, and I was astonished at the devastation to which we own up with reference to the burning of farms. The Colonial Secretary endeavoured to minimise it the other day, but he cannot possibly have read the evidence transmitted from South Africa. There is another very important admission in the statement that two villages were burned. Bothaville, with the exception of one or two public buildings, was burned, the reason assigned being that there was sniping of British troops from the village."

"I am sure that if hon. Members read the proclamations they would come to the conclusion that proceedings are sanctioned by them which they could not possibly approve of. But, at any rate, we have got to govern the country later on. We have made it part of the British Empire, and the first thing we have got to impress the inhabitants with is that, at any rate, we are a just people."

X JN 1129

L32 29

#45

NONCONFORMITY AND IRELAND

An Appeal by Arthur Henderson, M.P.

There have been recently some rather bitter criticisms of Nonconformity. We have been told that Nonconformity is moribund, and that we have lost touch with the great traditions which made the Free Churches a power in national affairs in the past. We are accused of having failed to perceive the moral issues involved in the national and international situation that confronts us at the present time.

Nonconformity to-day, as in the past, owes its devotion to principles and not to persons. The great imperatives of conscience and religion are, in my judgment, our only sure guide. With us it never can be "My Country, right or wrong."

The present moment is too grave for partisan feeling. The moral crisis is too overwhelming for any Free Churchman to attempt to make party capital out of the situation. But if Nonconformity is to retain its authority as the spokesman of the Christian conscience on public questions, it must be the fearless and faithful interpreter of the great spiritual ideals of democracy.

We have to voice the demand for peace in Ireland. We must further proclaim our opposition to the policy of reprisals which the Government has sanctioned or condoned, if it has not actually inspired. No Free Churchman can feel anything but shame and humiliation at the terrible sequence of events unfolding in Ireland from day to day, almost from hour to hour. Normal government has broken down. Every safeguard of freedom, all the common guarantees of security for life and property which it is the most elementary duty of civilised governments to maintain, have been destroyed. Ireland to-day is terrorised by a ruthless military dictatorship. Speaking in 1917, the Prime Minister said: "There remains the one invincible fact to-day, that

The Road to Peace.

The Cessation of Violence and the Opening up of Negotiations.

The Commission of Inquiry, which visited Ireland on behalf of the British Labour Movement, carried on informal "conversations" with representative leaders of national life with the object of bringing about a cessation of all acts of violence and all provocative acts and the opening up of official negotiations.

The Commission proposed to Cardinal Logue, the Archbishop of Dublin, and representatives of the Executive Committee of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, that it should issue an appeal signed by its members and countersigned by representatives of the Irish Labour Movement and by the Irish Catholic Hierarchy.

It was proposed that the appeal should be directed to the British Government and to the recognised leaders of Sinn Féin, urging the cessation of all acts of violence by both sides, in order to produce a period of quiet in Ireland; that when this unofficial truce had operated for an agreed period, official negotiations should be commenced for an

Official Truce and Agreed Settlement.

The preliminary truce was to be unofficial and in the nature of an earnest of good intention, but it was to be the first of three related steps to which tentative agreement should be secured in advance from both sides.

This threefold plan was agreed to by the heads of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and by the representatives of Irish Labour.

The British Government, on the other hand, neither definitely rejected nor actually accepted the proposals. Their attitude was non-committal. They have, however, now resorted to official reprisals.

Hence it is that the reign of violence continues unchecked in Ireland. Neither an unofficial nor an official truce has been arranged. Peace in Ireland and with Ireland remains yet to be established.

**THE GOVERNMENT ARE GAMBLING ON A "KNOCK-OUT" BLOW.
LABOUR STANDS FOR RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BY CONSENT.**

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.L32 29

#47

"WHO BEGAN IT?"

The Truth about the murders in Ireland.

By ROBERT LYND.

Mr. Lloyd George always suggests in his speeches on Ireland that the series of murders now being committed by the Armed Forces of the Crown are in the nature of reprisals. He leaves it to be understood that the first murders were committed on the Sinn Fein side and that the police and military in adopting the policy of murder have been innocent men acting under intolerable provocation. The truth is exactly the opposite. It was the agents of the Government who began the killing. It was the Government who began "provoking" the Irish rather than the Irish who began provoking the Government.

Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the end of 1916. In 1917, two innocent civilians were killed by military and police. Coroners' Juries returned verdict of murder or unjustifiably killing against them. No steps were taken to bring the men implicated to trial.

During this period not a single policeman was murdered in Ireland, though one was seriously injured while leading a baton charge and afterwards died as a result of his injuries.

In 1918 again there was not a single policeman murdered in Ireland.

During the year, however, there were five Irish civilians killed by the Armed Forces of the Crown; and as before, no steps were taken to punish, or even to censure those responsible. Meanwhile, the Government committed itself to a policy of repression and attempted to break up the Sinn Fein movement by force. Even in 1917 arrests and deportations were common. Newspapers were suppressed and Meetings broken up with rifle butts and bayonets.

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#48

BRITAIN'S DISGRACE.

What the World Thinks OF British Rule in Ireland.

The Government and the Press of this country always maintain that the Irish question is a purely domestic one in which foreign Governments and nations have no concern. Technically this is true, for even the Covenant of the League of Nations is so drawn as to give to oppressed nationalities no right of appeal to the League; but, in fact, foreign opinion is not indifferent to the Irish question, and as opinion influences policy, the question of Ireland is really of international importance, for our relations to other States are being affected, and must be affected, by the way we handle it.

During the last year or two Ireland has been flooded with correspondents of foreign newspapers, and they have kept their readers well informed of the progress of events. The riots, burnings, arrests, the long martyrdom of the Mayor of Cork, his death and his funeral, the whole series of tragic events, have been written up, photographed, and made the subject of political cartoons. The fact that we are in alliance with what are claimed to be the more liberal Powers in Europe has imposed a certain restraint on the comments of their Press, but it is sufficiently clear that our Irish policy has furnished a welcome weapon to those who hate us, while it has disgusted and alienated the Liberal, Labour, and Socialist Parties of foreign countries. Especially has it had this effect on Roman Catholics, that is, on a large and influential part of the people of France, Italy, and Belgium. It is not pleasant for an Englishman to read the more outspoken comments of foreign opinion on the Irish policy of our Government, and it is less pleasant because he knows that there is nothing to be said in excuse or palliation.

BELGIUM.

Perhaps the most remarkable foreign manifesto on the Irish question was the letter addressed to Cardinal Logue and the Bishops of Ireland by Cardinal Mercier, who made the famous protest

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#49

The Ruin of Ireland and the Cost to England

THE Government's policy, especially during 1920 when "reprisals" and military oppression have prevailed, has been a policy of ruin for Ireland.

Property has been Destroyed

The claims for damage done amounted at the end of October, 1920, to £5,038,602; and besides this "reprisals" have destroyed property at Balbriggan (£150,000), Lisburn (£815,000), Banbridge (£100,000), and numerous other places. Furniture in private houses has been smashed, clothes stolen, valuables destroyed. Poor people's belongings have been burnt in raids.

Trade has been Stopped

The Irish dairy produce trade has been smashed by the destruction of the creameries.

Over forty creameries have been destroyed, which as a whole were doing a trade worth £1,000,000 a year.

Printing works were destroyed at Tralee and Athlone.

Hosiery works were destroyed at Balbriggan and Bandon.

The uncertainty has made it impossible to carry on normal business.

Unemployment has Resulted

The whole of the countryside served by the destroyed creameries is affected. The supply of dairy produce is stopped.

The distributing trades are at a standstill.

The railways for some months ceased to run.

Distress

Military repression has involved starvation for many women and children. Many are homeless. All are terrified at what may happen to them and their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

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#50

CARDINAL LOGUE AND THE TERROR IN IRELAND

The Pastoral Letter of His Eminence Cardinal
Logue, read in the Churches on November 28th,
1920, contains the following passages—

1. Ireland like Belgium.

Last Monday morning I had just prepared for the Press the translation of an important letter, when news of the terrible tragedies of Sunday morning and Sunday evening in Dublin came like a "bolt from the blue." This letter is signed by His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines and all the Bishops of Belgium. It conveys cordial sympathy with us in our trials—trials so like those of which they themselves have had such sad experience—eulogises the faith and unfailing attachment to their religion of our Catholic people, expresses a hope that we may succeed in asserting our just rights, and promises, for our success, the prayers of their clergy and faithful. I have hesitated to give this letter to the Press in the present sad circumstances. A pronouncement breathing peace, moderation, prudent reserve, kindly interest and warm fraternal charity, would ill consort with the atmosphere of excitement and recrimination which now, unfortunately, prevails. I shall, therefore, content myself with sending copies to the Irish Bishops, to whom the letter is addressed.

2. The Dublin Murders.

The tragedies of last Sunday have oppressed me with a deep sense of sadness of a feeling akin to despair. I have never hesitated to condemn in the strongest terms at my command such deeds of blood from whatever source they may have sprung. I believe that every man and woman in Ireland, who retains a spark of Christian feeling or even of the instincts of humanity, deplores, detests and condemns the deliberate cold-blooded murders of Sunday morning. No object could excuse them; no motive could justify them; no heart, unless hardened and steeled against pity, could tolerate their cruelty. Patriotism is a noble virtue when it pursues its object by means that are sincere, honourable, just and in strict accordance with God's law; otherwise it degenerates into a blind, brutal, reckless passion, inspired not by love of country but by Satan, "who was a murderer from the beginning." The perpetrators of such crimes are not real patriots, but the enemies of their country; robbing her of her just sympathy, raising obstacles to her progress and impressing a deep stain on her fair fame. The most terrible thought of all is the outrage to God's majesty and the consequences which it brings of misery and remorse in this life and the danger of everlasting misery in the next.

3. Reprisals Described.

I believe, moreover, that every right-thinking Christian equally deplores and condemns the general, indiscriminate massacre of innocent and inoffensive victims which was perpetrated by the forces of the Crown in Croke Park on Sunday evening. If a balance was struck between the deeds of the morning and those of the evening, I believe it should be given against the forces of the

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#51

FROM

IRISH LABOUR TO BRITISH LABOUR

An OPEN LETTER

FELLOW WORKERS:—

WHEN the South African War was being engineered the conspirators made their appeal to the British people to "save the women and children of Johannesburg!" When that war was officially declared, it was proclaimed to be for "liberty and justice for the oppressed Uitlanders!"

In August, 1914, the call which proved potent to rally the masses to the Colours was the call to succour little Belgium, whose people were being scourged for the folly of belonging to a small nation!

Always, when the rulers of nations plan to make war, they pay tribute to the nobler attributes of the people by appealing to their sense of justice and human sympathy. Too often, alas, the people are deceived. They are led into paths from which they are unable to withdraw; they spill their blood and spend their substance for villainous causes, for the aggrandisement of thieves, for the enthronement of liars.

It is because we feel, though statesmen and political conjurers exploit your virtues for their own evil purposes, the truth remains that you are responsive to the cries of the oppressed, and you will not knowingly assist the tyrant to perpetuate his tyranny, that we, representing the organised workers of Ireland, join in the effort of the British Labour Party to open your eyes to the "methods of barbarism" by which your agents are trying to hold Ireland, willy-nilly, to the British Empire.

In saying this we would have you understand that when we lay emphasis on the recent manifestations of tyranny—the torture and shooting of prisoners, the burning of houses, farmsteads, and crops, shops, factories, and creameries, the looting of movable property—we do so in the hope of bringing home to your minds what is involved in ruling Ireland by force. We know that if you consent, knowingly, to "government without the consent of the governed" you can only govern by such methods as now prevail—either the calculated tyranny of a disciplined force or the tyranny of marauding bands of freebooters, under partial control, but armed and supplied with engines of war by government authority—either of these—or freedom.

THE STRANGLING OF IRELAND.

An Appeal to British Women

BY

A British Woman.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY.

It is a pity that every British woman—Welsh, Scottish, and English—cannot go to Ireland and see for herself the abomination of British rule there. This cannot be. But ignorance of the facts cannot be accepted as an excuse for indifference. Quite enough has been published in all reputable newspapers to show British women that what the Government calls "law and order" in Ireland is in fact "anarchy and terrorism." The whole world is looking on in disgusted horror. Irish men and women can and will accept no plea of ignorance. British women, unless they stand out for justice and humanity in Ireland, will be branded before the world, and in the long memories of the Irish people, as callous or cruel, deaf to the call of liberty, narrow-minded, and slothful. If we keep silence, we tacitly condone the atrocities ordered or allowed by our Government. If we support the Government we are guilty in the first degree.

Great Britain has for centuries ruled Ireland by force against the will of the enormous majority of the people. This, no doubt, is one of the reasons of our indifference to the wrongs of Ireland. They are so old! But every generation in turn is responsible for the wrongs done in its time, and the horror of wrong for which we, now living, are responsible in Ireland has never been surpassed. What is the state of affairs?

TERRORISM.

There have been many repetitions of sacking, looting, arson, and murder during the centuries of British rule in Ireland, but never worse than what has taken place during the past two years, with ever-increasing violence, culminating in the burning down of a large portion of Cork's main street, its Town Hall, and Carnegie Library.

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#53

THE COALITION ON TRIAL

Lord Birkenhead acts as though he were a prosecuting Counsel entitled to put leading questions to the Labour Party. He is wrong. He is in the Dock. *It is not Labour but the Coalition Government which is on trial.* He does not like the verdict of the jury in the By-Elections. He himself pictured for us the result of Government by Coalition, when, a few weeks ago, he said, "Europe is still prostrate, our finance is in an almost desperate situation, our streets are thronged with unemployed, and our Eastern dependencies are supplying us with very good ground of apprehension."

Lord Birkenhead Flouted the Law

Fear is the inspiration of his fantastic descriptions of Labour's purpose. But he cannot screen the truth of the disasters due to his Government by pontifical warnings of a "Socialist menace." The menace to the nation is in a clumsy and unprincipled Coalition which includes a Chancellor who pretends to be shocked at reduced regard for the law *after setting so many examples of how he would break it when it was not in his favour.*

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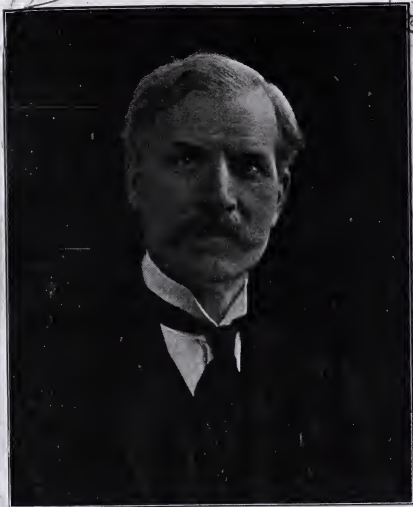
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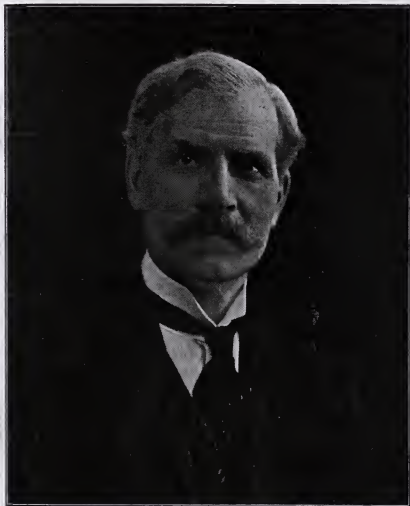
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Six Months of - -

Labour Government

**GIVE
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MORE
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AND
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WILL
DO
MORE
FOR
YOU.**

Has brought hope to the farm worker and his wife.

Labour's Act restoring the Agricultural Wages Board will secure for the farm worker a *Living Wage*, fixed by county wage committees and Central Wages Board, on which the farm worker will be represented.

Labour's Housing Scheme increases the subsidy for building cottages for farm workers to £12 10s. and guarantees *More Cottages to Let*, none of them tied.

Labour is also giving scholarships to farm workers' sons, and opens the door for them to improve their position.

Who are the Farm Workers' Friends?

Liberals and Tories in the House of Commons tried to destroy the value of the Agricultural Wages Board.

Labour wanted the Act to provide that no rate fixed by a local committee should become law until it was passed by the central committee: but the Liberals and Tories stopped this.

Their action was a deliberate encouragement to the worst type of farmer to pay low wages.

VOTE LABOUR
— AND —
CONDEMN THE WRECKERS.

LABOUR—— MAKES PEACE IN INDUSTRY !

THE CHARGE.

The Tory and Liberal Parties assert that under the Labour Government industrial disputes have been more frequent and serious than previously was the case.

THE FACTS.

The facts provide a plain and complete contradiction of the statement.

Since the advent of the Labour Party to office, there has been a marked diminution in the number of working days lost through industrial disputes, despite the fact that Tory neglect and inefficiency resulted in the precipitation of MANY STRIKES about the time that the Labour Party took office.

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The Labour Government

BRINGS HELP TO THE FARMERS

LABOUR
CAN
HELP
THE
FARMER
IF
THE
FARMER
WILL
HELP
LABOUR

LABOUR'S plans for promoting direct sales of farm products and preventing loss through fluctuating prices are of immediate benefit to the Farmer.

Loans to the amount of £200,000 have been made available to help co-operative marketing, and the Government has raised the limit on loans to Farmers' enterprises from £5,000 to £10,000.

The Labour Government has reduced the rate of interest on loans to Farmers under the Agricultural Credits Act from 6 per cent to 5 per cent.

It offers to advance to Farmers who form co-operative societies to buy machinery, stock, and other farm requirements an amount equal to £1 for every 5s. representing £1 share taken by the Farmer.

The Labour Government is spending £100,000 a year on agricultural research to prevent such terrible losses as the Farmers sustained last year through the ravages of foot and mouth disease among their cattle.

The Labour Government has secured an additional grant of £60,000 for land drainage schemes.

It has approved the appointment of Marketing Officers to investigate methods of improving marketing methods, including co-operative enterprise by the Farmers.

It has also undertaken the reorganisation of the County Agricultural Committees to assist the Farmer in improving agriculture.

VOTE LABOUR

FOR

BETTER FARMING BETTER BUSINESS
BETTER LIVING

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#60

BETTER TIMES FOR THE FARMER

The Labour Government has applied itself with energy and vision to meeting the needs of the Farmer.

Even the other parties are obliged to admit that no Government could have done more than Labour has done—and Labour has only just begun.

A Member of the Liberal Party, speaking at Wembley, said :—

“Mr. Noel Buxton was the first Minister of Agriculture to put AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING in the forefront of his programme, and he deserved the support of all Liberals.”

MARKETING THE PRODUCE

Labour believes that Co-operation will remove many of the ills afflicting Agriculture. It will make Loans, amounting in the aggregate to £200,000, to Co-operative Enterprises engaged in the Sale and Manufacture of Farm Produce, such as :—

(i) Dairies and Creameries ; (ii) Bacon Factories ; (iii) Egg and Poultry Marketing Associations ; (iv) Fruit and Vegetable Trading Associations.

The terms are very liberal, and include up to £10,000 to each Society, free of interest for the first two years.

MARKETING OFFICERS

To give further encouragement to Co-operation the Labour Government has appointed Marketing Officers, whose duty will be to investigate marketing conditions, with special reference to Co-operation in all its aspects.

CREDIT FACILITIES

Farmers are often handicapped by lack of capital. They cannot buy fertilisers, feeding stuffs, machinery, etc., without it.

By means of the Credits Act, Farmers can obtain loans on easy terms for these and other purposes at a rate of interest which the Labour Government has reduced to 4 per cent.

The Government will advance £1 for every 5s. put up by the Farmer.

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#61

.. HOW LABOUR PROVIDES ..

WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

Labour believes in finding work for people at their own trade.

Since the Government came into office on January 22, the amount available for guaranteeing loans under the Trade Facilities Act has been increased to **£65,000,000.**

The period for new guarantees under the Export Credits Scheme has been extended to September of next year: over **£17,000,000** is available under the scheme.

By relieving the pantries of the poor of **£30,000,000** of taxation, Mr. Snowden has helped trade and employment.

A Cabinet Committee is **considering** schemes of work, including Electrical Development, Land Reclamation, Road Construction, Drainage Schemes, and the Building of Light Railways.

EVERY VOTE FOR LABOUR IS A VOTE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

[P.T.O.]

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#62

BRITISH WORKERS AND RUSSIA

Trade with Russia means more Employment in this country. If conditions in the Engineering, Shipbuilding and Textile Industries were restored to the normal, Unemployment in Great Britain would be about the same as in pre-war days.

These are the industries which would benefit most from trade with Russia.

By helping Russia, a country with a population of over 130,000,000, we shall open up new avenues of British Trade.

"Europe needs what Russia can supply. Before the war a quarter of the exportable Wheat Supply of the world came from Russia—millions of tons of Barley and Rye; great quantities of other necessary food supplies; millions of tons of Manganese; two-thirds of the Flax required for Europe; half of the world's output of Hemp; half the Timber imported into the United Kingdom—all these came from Russia."

Lloyd George said this in the House of Commons. (April 3, 1922.)

Russian products can be exchanged for the goods YOU make, and British and Russian workers will benefit.

HOW CAN YOU HELP? SEE OVER

LABOUR KEEPS ITS PROMISES TO THE FARM WORKER

The Agricultural Wages Board system has at last been established. The Labour Party put it in the forefront of its Agricultural Programme when it was in Opposition. As soon as Labour took office it at once proceeded to carry out its pledge.

Now the Wages Board has become a permanent part of the Agricultural Industry in this country.

Legal Minimum Wages, abolished by Mr. Lloyd George in 1921, are restored by Mr. Noel Buxton, the first Labour Minister of Agriculture.

WHAT THE ACT DOES

THE LIVING WAGE

The Act provides that every able-bodied worker is to have a wage sufficient "to maintain himself and his family in such standard of comfort as may be reasonable in relation to the nature of his occupation."

Special rates will be fixed for special classes, such as stockmen or shepherds, as well as definite scales for women and youths of various ages.

THE COUNTY COMMITTEES

In every county, Committees representing Farmers and Farm Workers will meet to fix a Minimum Wage for the district. They will also define Benefits and Allowances and settle questions of Overtime.

Two independent members, appointed by the Minister, will also serve on the Committee, and a Chairman who will have the right to vote.

Agreed Rates by County Committees are binding and can be enforced by appeal to the Magistrates.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

WHAT LABOUR HAS DONE —FOR THE WORKLESS.—

Within six months the Labour Government has extended to the workless more Benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act than its predecessors have done during the last six years.

Restrictions Abolished.

Its First Step was to abolish the vexatious restrictions imposed by previous Governments, and to place all applicants on the same footing as regards claims to Uncovenanted Benefit.

The "Gap" Abolished.

Its Second Step was to pass a short Act abolishing the "gap" of three weeks which under previous legislation occurred as soon as twelve weeks' Uncovenanted Benefit had been drawn.

Benefit Period Extended.

Its Third Step was to pass another short Act temporarily extending from 26 weeks to 41 weeks the maximum benefit payable in the first Benefit Year.

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#65

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#67

THE CAMERA CANNOT LIE

By "GADFLY," of the "DAILY HERALD."

GENTLEMEN, meet Mr. Burton Mayberry. I'd like to have you meet him because Burton was one of the many people who were used to foster the hate business during the late War of Prevarication. I told you a few days ago how the Dope Press on this side (and the ditto in Germany, probably) fed their intelligent readers with hate stuff, by means of faked news and faked photographs. This seems to fall into a like category.



According to the "Daily Mirror."

According to the "Weekly Dispatch."

Burton Mayberry was a ship's fireman—the sort of fellow the Dope newspapers would have no time for if he and his pals went on strike. But they had a lot of time for him and his colleagues during the war. Stout fellows, boys of the bulldog breed, laughing the abhorred foe to scorn and so forth.

Lord Rothermere's "Daily Mirror" heard about Fireman Burton Mayberry and decided that there was a "story" in him. Burton had been sadly manhandled by the commander of a German submarine. Varying their usual practice of boiling British seamen in oil, or potting them on their rafts, they had taken Mr. Mayberry aboard and—tattooed him. On the face. On each cheek. German thoroughness. And all because he would not curse England.

X-JN 1129

L 32 Z 1

#68

IF WE COULD LIVE ON RICE

AND

DO WITHOUT SLEEP ALTOGETHER

By GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.

THE Labour Movement is once again heading towards a great industrial crisis. Engineers, railwaymen, miners, cotton weavers and spinners, are all working for wages much less than sufficient to ensure a decent standard of life. Those who uphold the capitalist system, be they Deans, Bishops, or Millionaires, all unite in declaring that what is needed is not more spending power among the workers, but a speeding-up of labour, increased hours of work, and less pay. "Cheapen production" is the cry. In the building industry, as in all the others, the shortened working day is being attacked. This, we are told, is necessary in order to speed up the erection of working-class dwellings.

FORTY YEARS' AGITATION.

Over 40 years have passed since the Socialist Parties in Europe and Britain first formulated the demand for an eight-hour working day, or 48-hour working week. After the famous dock strike in 1889 we who lived in London were accustomed to march to Hyde Park on the first Sunday in May, demonstrating our demands for the above reform. Some of us desired that hours of labour should be fixed by Act of Parliament; others would have nothing to do with a legal eight-hour day, but desired to obtain the same ends by voluntary action.

DEMAND FOR LONGER HOURS.

After years of fighting against each other, the two sections joined together, and, as a result, hours of labour in some industries have been reduced by Act of Parliament. This is specially the case with respect to miners; and now, because trade

THOSE FOOD BILLS.

How you worry about them!
Prices go up and wages go down.

It's the world's own puzzle to make both ends meet—

A CROSS-WORD PUZZLE
that you cannot solve by grousing.

Join the Labour Party and help to fight the Profiteers.

**THE PROFITEERS MAKE MONEY WHILE
YOUR CHILDREN GO HUNGRY.**

The less food there is, the higher the price and

THE BIGGER THE PROFITS.

When prices go down, the great trusts and combines deliberately reduce supplies so as to send them up again.

**THE PEOPLE GROW POORER,
THE PROFIT-MAKERS GROW RICHER.**

The Morning Post, a Tory journal of the most extreme character, said in 1924 that after allowing for a profit of 10 per cent. for every person dealing in meat, bread and milk alone, prices allowed for a further profit of

£175,000,000.

Couldn't the Housewives do with some of that?

PROFITS ON TEA.

The Working Woman's Luxury.

In 1924 three large tea companies paid the following dividends:—Deamoolie Tea Company paid a sum of £60 and the Upper Assam Tea Company of £75 on every £100 invested. The New Sylhet Tea Estates Company paid a sum equal to £172 for every £100 of ordinary capital.

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#70

GIVE THE YOUNG WOMEN A VOTE.

THE YOUNG WIFE.

You are old enough to marry but the Tories will not agree that you are old enough to vote. Your husband may vote at twenty-one. You, his partner in life, cannot get a vote until you are thirty. Yet housing, prices, unemployment, peace, are all questions which affect you as much as they do your husband.

THE YOUNG MOTHER.

You are old enough to be a mother but you are not old enough to vote. You and your husband are the joint guardians of your children. If you should lose him, you will have to bear the whole responsibility of caring for them and providing for them. Yet you are not given a voice in making the laws which decide their future until you are thirty. Parliament makes laws for their education, health and future employment. It is just as important for you to vote as it is for their father to do so. You want to help to secure all that is best for your young family. Is it just that this power should be withheld from you?

THE YOUNG WOMAN WORKER.

You are old enough to earn your living. You are old enough to starve if you are unemployed and without money. You are old enough to suffer from long hours, from bad factory conditions, from over-crowded and dark offices. You are old enough to be sweated and you are often paid less than a living wage. You are expected to be self-supporting. The young man working beside you gets a vote when he is twenty-one, but you must wait until you are thirty. Even then you cannot have a vote unless you occupy unfurnished rooms. Is this fair?

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.L32 Z9

#71

LOOK AFTER THE MOTHERS AND BABIES

Healthy Mothers and Healthy Babies are a necessity for
a great and happy nation.

You cannot have them unless there are

Good Homes.

Good Food.

Good Doctoring and Nursing Care.

Millions of people are living in one or two rooms.

**In London nearly 150,000 families live in one room
and over 230,000 in two rooms.**

**In Glasgow more than 130,000 live in one room and
more than 500,000 in two rooms.**

Thousands of families live in cellar dwellings.

How can healthy children be born under these conditions?

Hundreds of thousands of the little ones have no play-
ground but the dismal streets of crowded towns.

**Every year 52,000 babies die before they are a year
old, and 25,000 more before they are five.**

Disease plays havoc amongst them, and the lack of sun-
light and the lack of a plentiful supply of milk
weaken those who live.

**Every year in Great Britain more than 3,000 mothers
die when their children are born.**

This is chiefly because they cannot afford the doctoring
and nursing care that they require. This means a
terrible loss of life and that the children who are
left are bereft of a mother's care.

X-JN 1129

.L32 29

#72

Why WOMEN should VOTE LABOUR

.....

Because

The Labour Party puts the needs of the children first, and demands for all of them opportunities of good education, good health and good surroundings. It wants to do away with hunger, sickness and ignorance.

Because

The Labour Party seeks to promote the welfare of the mothers and ensure that all shall have the food, rest, medical and nursing care necessary for healthy motherhood.

Because

The Labour Party demands shorter hours and better conditions for workers in the workshop and women in their homes.

Because

The Labour Party, in order to make the toil of the woman at home less heavy, demands better houses, planned as working women want them.

Because

The Labour Party proposes that all widows and mothers who have children dependent upon them, but have lost their breadwinners through death or sickness, should receive pensions sufficient to keep them and their children properly without taint of the Poor Law, and on a non-contributory basis.

[P.T.O.]

61-7567
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AT ECONOMICS

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THE SURTAX

BY

X-JN 1129

H. B. LEEB-SMITH, M.P.

.L32 29



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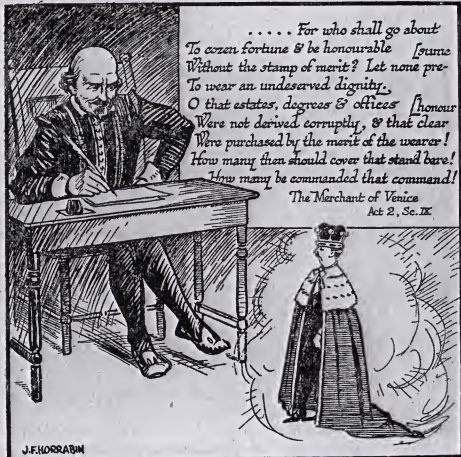
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An Exposure of their
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The Need for National Enterprise

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(Ex-Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture)

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#83

**A WORD TO
FATHERS &
MOTHERS !!**

\\
**COULD YOUR
DAUGHTER
LIVE ON 8/-
A WEEK?**

THE . . .
**CONSERVATIVE
GOVERNMENT
SAYS THIS IS
ENOUGH TO
KEEP HER !!**

[P.T.O.]

The Labour Surtax

The first steps to the new social order must be taken by the first Labour Parliament :—

- (1) Poverty and unemployment must be attacked.
- (2) Rates must be reduced by more generous assistance to local authorities from national funds.
- (3) Development schemes which will increase the nation's production must be set on foot.
- (4) The school age must be raised with provision for adequate maintenance grants.
- (5) The burden of the National Debt must be lightened.
- (6) The standard of life must be raised.

Can this be done ?

It can be done by the Surtax.

WHAT THE SURTAX IS.

It is a tax on unearned income. It is not a tax on earned income, i.e., income which comes from work, whether that income be that of a manual worker, a clerk, a civil servant, a professional man, or a man in private business. It is a tax on income from investment and the ownership of capital, e.g., interest on War Loan, debentures, mortgages, shares, etc.; in short, on income derived from owning instead of earning.

The proposal is that the tax shall be graduated, but that it shall be at an average rate of about 2s. in the £. It will not be imposed on the first £500 of a person's unearned income, so that such income will not be called upon to contribute to the above average.

Broadly speaking, an unearned income of £500 represents a capital of £10,000.

WHO WILL PAY THE SURTAX ?

A large proportion of the tax will be paid by the super-tax payers, of whom there are 97,000, and who have an average income, after all taxes have been paid, of about £80 a week each. It is absurd to suggest that these persons are going to suffer hardship from some extra tax.

(P.T.O.)

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#85

Agricultural Education and Research

TRAINED AGRICULTURISTS WILL ENSURE EFFICIENT FARMING.

In order to develop an industry successfully, knowledge is required, and in Agriculture the need for more knowledge and scientific research is more apparent to-day than ever.

The policy of the Labour Party is to provide generous educational facilities in the countryside, and it can be demonstrated that education is as vital a human need in the country districts as in the large industrial centres.

A FAIR OPPORTUNITY FOR THE COUNTRY CHILD.

The country child is entitled to every opportunity possible for the developing of personality, and acquiring a sound general education for his or her future life.

To enable the young man or woman to embark successfully on a course of technical or agricultural education the Labour Party realise fully the necessity for extending primary and secondary education in rural districts. The extension of motor transport for school children in outlying districts and the provision of adequate maintenance and travelling grants is part of Labour's policy.

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.L32 Z9

#86

The Labour Party and the Farmer

The needs of the farmer are mainly three :

- (1) **HE NEEDS UP-TO-DATE EQUIPMENT ON THE FARM, BUILDINGS IN GOOD REPAIR, AND BARNS AND COW-SHEDS OF A MODERN TYPE.**

The old-fashioned and dilapidated buildings which are now so common are a great hindrance to good farming. The farmer cannot, for instance, comply with the Milk and Dairies Order without first-class equipment.

The Labour Party says that the State shall take the place of the private landlord, who has failed to provide and maintain the required buildings.

**THE TENANT NEEDS A GOOD LANDLORD.
THE STATE WILL BE THAT LANDLORD.**

- (2) **THE FARMER NEEDS A WELL-DRAINED SOIL.**

Waterlogged land means bad crops, low yields, and poor return for the farmer's toil.

**THE STATE AS LANDLORD WILL DRAIN
THE SOIL AND GIVE THE FARMER
A CHANCE.**

[P.T.O.]

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#87

HARD FACTS

HERE are the hard facts about the expenditure of the Government in 1926-27, as given in the official Finance Accounts. The Post Office, which is a business undertaking and does not cost the Government anything, is excluded.

Millions of Pounds	Spent on old wars	Of every 20s. s. d.
378	To those who lent their money (War Debt) ..	9 7½
63	To those who fought and the dependants of those who died (War Pensions)	1 7½
	<i>On New Wars</i>	
116	Army, Navy and Air Force	2 11½
	<i>On Peace</i>	
52	The Education of the people	1 3½
30	Old-Age Pensions	0 9½
4	Widows' and Orphans' Pensions	0 1½
21	The Health and Housing of the People	0 6½
18	The Unemployed ex-Service Man and Worker, etc.	0 5½
105	Other Services, some of which are preparation for new wars	2 8
<hr/> £787 millions		<hr/> 20 0

Out of every 20s. spent by the Government, 14s. 1½d. was for war, and only 5s. 10½d. for peace services.

Out of every 20s. spent by the Government, nearly one-half (9s. 7½d.) went to War Moneylenders, mostly rich people past middle age; while only 3s. 2½d. was spent on Education, Old-Age Pensions, Widows' and Orphans' Pensions, Unemployment, and the Health and Housing of the people.

As prices have fallen during the past few years, wages have fallen, revenue from taxation has fallen, and the burden of War Debt has become greater and greater.

Who is to bear the burden of the War Debt?

Who is to pay for absolutely necessary social expenditure?

Tories and Liberals say, Those who Labour to Live.
The Labour Party says, Those who Live on Labour.

LABOUR SAYS THAT SOCIAL EXPENDITURE
MUST BE INCREASED, THAT WAR EXPENDI-
TURE MUST BE REDUCED, AND THAT THE
WEALTHY MUST PAY.

WOMEN ELECTORS, KNOW YOUR FRIENDS!

From the passing of the Reform Act of 1834 to the Representation of the People Act in 1918, Tory and Liberal Governments controlled Parliament and were able to legislate as they pleased. Both Parties refused to support the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women.

The Labour Party was formed in 1900. At its first Annual Conference it declared in favour of votes for women at 21. It made repeated attempts to get the necessary legislation passed by Parliament. Tories and Liberals always in a majority blocked every attempt.

From the time of the great Liberal victory in 1906 to the outbreak of the War, individual members introduced a series of Women's Suffrage Bills. This is what happened:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1906. Women's Suffrage Bill. | Blocked by Tories and Liberals. |
| 1908. Women's Suffrage Bill. | Blocked by Tories and Liberals. |
| 1910. Women's Suffrage Bill. | Obtained Second Reading but Liberal Government blocked it. |
| 1912. Electoral Reform Bill by Liberal Government. | Refused to include Women's Suffrage. |
| 1912. Women's Suffrage Bill. | Defeated by Tories and Liberals. |
| 1913. Women's Suffrage Bill. | Defeated by Tories and Liberals. |

In 1918 the feeling roused by the War had to be reckoned with and the Liberal-Tory Coalition Government were compelled to accept the claims of women in the new Franchise Act of 1918. This gave practically adult suffrage for men of 21, but it limited the conditions for women over 30 and excluded all who were under 30.

The Labour Party opposed these unfair terms and ever since 1918 has endeavoured to get

EQUAL FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN

P.T.O.

WHY the LIBERALS No Longer Count in Parliament

What is the use of voting for Liberal candidates ?

When the Liberal M.P.s get to Parliament many of them stay away from the majority of the debates, and those who do attend are usually divided among themselves, some of them voting one way and some of them the other.

How the Liberals Neglect their Duty in the House !

On 19th March, 1926, Labour introduced a Bill to prevent profiteering in building materials. Only four Liberals voted in favour of the Bill. Four voted against it. **THE REMAINING THIRTY-TWO DID NOT VOTE AT ALL.** And as the four Liberals who voted one way cancelled out the four Liberals who voted the other way, the effective voting strength of the Liberals in the division was NIL.

On 30th March, 1926, Labour moved a resolution condemning the present system whereby large fortunes are inherited by a small minority of the community. Out of the forty Liberal M.P.s only two took part in the division. **THE REMAINING THIRTY-EIGHT WERE EITHER ABSENT ALTOGETHER OR COULD NOT MAKE UP THEIR MINDS WHICH WAY TO VOTE.** And even of the two who did take part in the division one voted one way and one voted the other, so that the effective voting strength of the Liberals in the division was NIL.

On July 9th, 1926, on the Third Reading of the Boards of Guardians (Default) Bill, which gives the Government power to take local government out of the hands of the ratepayers, only four Liberals took the trouble to vote. **THE REMAINING THIRTY-SIX WERE EITHER ABSENT OR COULD NOT MAKE UP THEIR MINDS WHICH WAY TO VOTE.** And of the four who did vote two went into one Lobby and two into the other, so that the two divergent Liberal contingents cancelled one another out.

**PRESERVE THE REAL ^{#90}
WEALTH OF THE NATION.**

X-JN 1129

.L32 Z9



LABOUR WILL GET

**GIVE
MOTHERS AND BABIES
A CHANCE.**

X-JN 1129

.L32 Z9

Labour's Call to YOU!

#91

X	HOW TO BECOME A VOTER	X
----------	----------------------------------	----------

DATES TO REMEMBER.

JUNE 1st. End of Qualifying Period.

The period of qualification is three months ending June 1st. The period of residence or occupation may be in one Borough or County or (in the case of men only) in Boroughs or Counties adjoining if residence or occupation is continuous. ONE MONTH'S residence is sufficient for a naval and military VOTER.

JULY 15th. Electors' Lists Published.

On this date the Registration Officer in every constituency publishes Lists of Electors, viz., consisting of (a) The Register for the time being in force, (b) a List of New Electors, (c) a List of Persons no longer qualified. Every person without exception should examine the Lists for their own name. The Lists are on view at TOWN HALLS, POST OFFICES, FREE LIBRARIES, or at the addresses of Labour Party Agents and Secretaries.

AUGUST 7th. Last Day to Claim Vote.

A PERSON whose name does not appear on the Lists of Electors (a) or (b) must, if he or she desires to be registered, send in a claim on the prescribed form to the Registration Officer on or before August 7th. The necessary Forms and guidance how to fill them up can be obtained free of charge from any Labour Party Agent or Secretary.

AUGUST 18th. Absent Voters' Claims.

Many people like seamen, fishermen, railwaymen, post office employees, commercial travellers, etc., who are likely to be away from home on Polling Day in a Parliamentary Election, may claim to have their names included in the Absent Voters' List if they are entitled to be registered as Parliamentary Electors, so as to enable them to vote by post. August 18th is the last day to claim. Men and women engaged in Naval and Military Service are automatically placed on the Absent Voters' List.

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#92

THE LABOUR PARTY

AND

The Nursing Profession

A STATEMENT OF POLICY
WITH REGARD TO NURSING

"The Report contains much valuable information, arranged in a clear and perspicuous manner, and the greater part of the recommendations made are excellent from the Nurses' point of view."—*The Official Organ of the International Council of Nurses* (April, 1927)

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33, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1

#93

To Delegates to Conference, Blackpool, October, 1927. Please pass to Delegate

Re GUILDFORD RESOLUTION ON ELECTORAL REFORM

(p. 35/36 of Agenda).

ELECTORAL REFORM—SOME BROADER ASPECTS

The Guildford Divisional Labour Party has put down a comprehensive resolution asking for reform in respect of the method of electing Parliament and local authorities, the franchise, election expenses, and the use of vehicles in conveying voters to the poll. As delegate and adopted candidate for the division, I ask for support for this resolution.

Most of the reforms demanded will meet with general approval, but there may be differences of view as to proportional representation. Yet it raises moral issues of world significance. Its principles are of the same quality as those on which we base our hopes of international co-operation and peace.

LABOUR AND P.R.

What is the record of the Labour party on this question? In 1918, when the world was anxious for a peace based on justice, the Labour party approved of justice in representation for political and municipal elections. It endorsed P.R. by a formal resolution of the Party Conference.

In 1919, a special Congress of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour party recommended that

"the body of Delegates [to the League of Nations] should be chosen from the national Parliaments by some such method as proportional representation, so as to secure an accurate representation of national opinion."

Labour pressed for a world Assembly that should be completely representative.

In 1920, on the advice of a special commission appointed by its Executive Committee, the Labour party demanded that the Government should at once provide "for an election by P.R. of an effectively open Constituent Assembly for Ireland." The British Labour party asked for an Irish parliament fully representative of all Irish citizens.



LABOUR PARTY

INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

THE LEAGUE AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION.

The official Minutes of the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels from February 10th-15th, 1927, has now appeared in German in the "Neuer Deutscher Verlag", Berlin. This publishing house is a well-known Communist firm and in order to dissipate all possible doubt, the book bears on the reverse of the title-page the inscription: "Copyright 1927 with the Neuer Deutscher Verlag, Willi Münzenberg Berlin, W.8." The title of the book is "The Beacon of the Palais Egmont". It consists of 284 pages with 20 full-page illustrations, is well produced in paper covers or cloth and costs respectively 3 and 5.20 Marks.

The "Minutes" are far from giving any complete reproduction of the debates. The book is designed to record the "most, important issues of the Brussels' debates" or, as stated elsewhere, "something of their atmosphere". Accordingly the speeches are not reproduced in the order in which they are given, but grouped under subjects. This manner of publishing minutes makes it of course almost impossible to check how far modifications have been made in the speeches themselves. But that such have occurred is clear in one place where by mistake a polemic against the speaker has been included, whilst the passage which was itself the object of the polemic has been struck out. At the very beginning of the Foreword it is noted that "it has been impossible to compose a work which could make any claim to completeness". This defect is particularly evident as regards the organisation side of the Congress; there is no information as to how it actually came about, and there is no indication of the origin of the "League against Colonial Oppression". Those members of the "League" who suppose its organisation to have arisen only at this Congress will, after perusing these Minutes, find themselves confirmed in that belief, and it is therefore not inappropriate to remedy this defect in the book by recalling the history of the "League" during its first year of existence, i.e. the year preceding the Brussels Congress.

The "League against Colonial Oppression" is a legitimate child of the well-known communist deputy of the German Reichstag, Willi Münzenberg, and of the "Workers' International Relief" (W.I.R.) founded and directed by him, as to the efficiency of which as one of the chief instruments of the Bolshevik united front manoeuvre there can to-day be no further doubt. It would obviously now be more convenient to the Communist initiators of the "League" to deny this paternity, but this would be an altogether hopeless undertaking.

The earliest documents concerning the "League" were published in Berlin, which might seem surprising, since Germany possesses no colonies, but this at once becomes clear, if one is aware of the connection with the W.I.R. which has its headquarters in Berlin. The first publication is dated Berlin 15th February, 1926, that is, just one year before the Congress of Brussels. It is entitled

"Der koloniale Freiheitskampf"
Mittelungsblatt der

X-JN 1129

L3229

#95

MUST THE UNEMPLOYED STARVE?

More than one million persons are unemployed, including many thousands of ex-service men. A much greater number of women and children are dependent on them.

All these workers (except for a mere handful) are denied employment through no fault of their own. They want work and cannot get it. Their jobs are closed down. What are they to do?

Only two things are possible. Work must be provided. Failing this, the country must keep the unemployed and their dependents from starving, by providing the necessities of life.

PROVIDING WORK

A considerable amount can be done to improve matters, even under present conditions, and it is the first duty of a Government to do all in its power to provide work.

TORY FAILURE

"The Unionist Party has a positive remedy for unemployment. . . . Constant work at good wages will be secured for all who desire and seek it" (*Unionist Record*, No. 2415).

How was that election pledge kept?

Later, in 1925, Mr. Baldwin said, "I have never pretended to have a remedy. . . . If the people cannot save themselves, no Government can save them."

Here are some of the things the Tory Government has done:

- (a) Refused to compel the mine-owners to reorganise their industry, which is admittedly grossly inefficient.
- (b) Reduced the housing subsidy, and placed serious obstacles in the way of the great house-building programme instituted by the Labour Government in 1924. The housing shortage is as great to-day as at the end of the war, and a million houses are needed.
- (c) Done nothing about land drainage and flooding.
- (d) Raided the Road Fund, and cut down expenditure on building roads.
- (e) Refused to enter into a fresh programme of unemployment relief works for 1927-28. Local authorities' schemes (to which the State makes a contribution) approved by the Unemployment Grants Committee fell from £24,000,000 in 1923-24 to £792,000 in 1926-27. The Committee itself states that "this is mainly attributable to the effect of the Committee's circular letter to local authorities of December 15, 1925," which was one of the Tory "economy" efforts at the expense of the unemployed.

In other words, the Tories have cut down, or have refused to provide, employment in these and other directions. Labour policy, on the other hand, aims at the reorganisation of industry, and also involves the undertaking of many necessary public works (e.g., land drainage, the building of houses, &c.).

THE NATION IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

X-JN 1129

L32 Z9

#96

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE

WHY PUBLIC OWNERSHIP
IS THE KEY TO HIGH
WAGES ON THE FARM

BY

T. P. CONWILL-EVANS

PRICE: ONE PENNY

Published by

The Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1.

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#97

THE FARMER AND THE LABOUR PARTY

FAIR REWARD FOR ALL

BY

G. T. GARRATT

PRICE: ONE PENNY

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The Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1

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#98

How
the Tory Government
has disappointed
the Old Folks
and the Widows

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#99

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1928

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Private and Confidential

TRADES UNION CONGRESS
GENERAL COUNCIL

✓
LABOUR PARTY
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

#101

Wages - England

JOINT COMMITTEE

ON THE

LIVING WAGE, ETC.

INTERIM REPORT ON FAMILY ALLOWANCES AND CHILD WELFARE

Sections I—III only
(with Appendices)

September, 1928

TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY
TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block), SMITH SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.1

COAL, POWER, & TRANSPORT

Labour's Scheme for the Mining Industry

FAR-REACHING plans for the re-organisation and development of the mining industry and the creation of a national Power and Transport system were laid before the Coal Commission on January 14th, on behalf of the Labour Movement.

The scheme has been prepared by a Joint Committee representing the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Executive Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

It involves the establishment of a Power and Transport Commission to undertake the development of a national system of coal and power production and transport. Unification of the mining industry, and the integration of the coal producing and coal treatment industry, and the national organisation of coal distribution and export coal, under a system of national ownership, with representation for the workers in the administration and control of the system, are essential features of the scheme.

Private ownership of coal by over 3,000 coalowners, and the operation of some 3,000 pits by more than 1,000 separate concerns, in the opinion of the Joint Committee result in waste and loss of coal and impede efficient layout and economical operations in the coalfields. Distribution also is costly and uneconomical, owing to the separate ownership of wagons and the intervention of an unnecessarily large number of middlemen. There is also reason to believe, the Joint Committee states, that the present methods of selling British coal abroad are less favourable to the development of the mining industry than co-ordination of the export trade by a single authority.

UNIFIED OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

To overcome existing defects in the organisation of the industry, the Joint Committee proposes as a first condition unification of the ownership of coal, the ownership and operation of collieries, the distribution of coal, and the export of coal.

The Joint Committee declares that the powers necessary to bring into existence and operate such a system are too large to be entrusted to any but a public body. "We propose, therefore, that the ownership of the minerals and the collieries should be acquired by the State."

Emphasis is laid upon the importance of considering the future of the coal industry in relation to the closely connected questions of power and of the treatment of coal. Dealing with the latter question, it is pointed out that in the past the basic industry of coal production has sold its raw product to other industries to be utilised, and that it has led to progressive pressure for reduction of prices. Thus the coal industry feels the pressure from every other industry, and as labour costs form a large part of coal production costs there is an insistent demand for a reduction in the workers' standards.

The Joint Committee, therefore, urges that the coal industry must be transformed from a coal-extracting to a coal-utilising industry. "The utilisation of coal in the production of electricity, gas, coke, and by-products has not, generally speaking, been undertaken by the coal companies. It is true that many collieries generate electrical power, but in most cases this is entirely for their own use. It is also true that many collieries have as ancillary undertakings coke ovens and by-product works, but these are in the main the property of concerns having iron and steel interests for which a supply of metallurgical coke is required. Moreover, these ancillary undertakings have not been regarded by the owners as forming part of the coal industry, though the Miners' Federation has repeatedly pressed for their inclusion."

X-JN 1129
L32 Z9

#103



MAY DAY, 1928

X-JN 1129
L32 Z9

#104

LABOUR
BULLETIN

SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT

A GUIDE TO WIDOWS', ORPHANS', AND OLD AGE PENSIONS

THE Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act makes provision for pensions for (1) widows and their children, (2) orphans, and (3) persons between the ages of 65 and 70, and for the payment of contributions in respect thereof; and makes the necessary amendments in the law relating to Health and Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions. The Act does not apply to Northern Ireland.

I.

WHO COME UNDER THE SCHEME.

Compulsory Contributors.

(1) The Act applies to all employed persons who are compulsorily insured under the National Health Insurance Act and (with modifications) to (i.) persons who have obtained certificates of exemption from health insurance and (ii.) persons engaged in certain employments excepted from the Insurance Act. The payment of contributions is compulsory.

Voluntary Contributors.

(2) The opportunity to become voluntary contributors under the Combined Health and Pensions Insurance schemes will be given to:—

- (i.) persons (other than married women) who have at any time been insured under the Insurance Act, either compulsorily or voluntarily, for not less than two years and have paid at least 104 contributions;
- (ii.) persons who have held exemption certificates or who have been in certain excepted employments—subject to conditions;
- (iii.) uninsured men who marry insured women in respect of whom at least 104 contributions have been paid under the pensions scheme. (It will be noted that this class cannot come into existence before January, 1928.)

Note that a married woman cannot become a voluntary contributor.

Note also that voluntary contributors must be insured under both the Health Insurance Scheme and this Scheme and pay the combined contributions of employer and employee.

The rates of contribution will ordinarily be 1s. 6d. for men and 1s. 1d. for women, covering both Health and Pensions.

Persons who at 4th January, 1926, are voluntary contributors under the National Health Insurance Act will cease to be entitled to contribute voluntarily unless within a prescribed time they give notice of desire to become voluntary contributors to the combined scheme, and to pay contributions accordingly. The "free year" under the Health Insurance Act of persons who so cease to be voluntary contributors will be extended from one year to two years.

II.

RATES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

(1) Ordinary Rates of Contributions.

	Total per wk.	Em- ployer.	Em- ployed.
Contributions in case of men	9d.	4½d.	4½d.
Contributions in case of women	4½d.	2½d.	2d.

On January 1st, 1930, unless Parliament otherwise determines, the total contributions of men will be increased by 2d. per week (1d. being payable by the man and 1d. by the employer), and of women by 1d. per week (½d. being payable by the woman and ½d. by the employer). Similar additional increases in contributions will be made on January 1st, 1946, and January 1st, 1956.

(2) Exempt Persons.

Men who hold exemption certificates will be insured for widows' and orphans' pensions, but not for old age pensions. **Exempt women** will not be insured for any pensions under the Act, but the employer's share of the contribution is payable. The contributions for pensions are as follows:—

	Total per wk.	Em- ployer.	Em- ployed.
Contributions in case of men	7d.	4½d.	2½d.
Contributions in case of women	2½d.	2½d.	—

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#105

Women and the General Election

*Woman - Suffrage -
England*



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#106

CHILDREN FIRST!



Dinner at a Nursery School.

LABOUR'S POLICY DESCRIBED.

ONE PENNY.

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#107

THE LAND QUESTION



TAXATION AND RATING OF LAND VALUES

By

The Rt. Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., M.P.

Price : One Penny ;
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#108

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#109

ARBITRATION

TORY RECORD AND LABOUR POLICY

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#110

WEALTH OR COMMONWEALTH

LABOUR'S FINANCIAL POLICY

By the Rt. Hon. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.
(Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government).

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#111

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EXPOSED!

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#112

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#113

SAFEGUARDING *Whom ?*

The PROFITEER,
or the WORKER

Labour's Answer to the
Protectionists

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CAPT. WEDGWOOD BENN, M.P.

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#115

THE LABOUR PARTY



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LABOUR'S REPLY TO LLOYD GEORGE

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WITH A PREFACE

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THE RT. HON.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

PRICE TWOPENCE

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Hammer Home the Facts

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Reach the thousands who never attend
any public meetings. Ensure a win in
your constituency
by using Labour's
ammunition!**



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GENERAL ELECTION, 1929.



#118

Labour's Appeal to the Nation.

The long-awaited opportunity has now come for the Nation to give its verdict on the present Government.

By its inaction during four critical years it has multiplied our difficulties and increased our dangers. Unemployment is more acute than when Labour left office. International relations are worse. Vast areas of the country are derelict. The posters on our hoardings announcing the grim truth that "a million of our fellow countrymen are needing food and clothing" tell

HOW THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED.

In the face of such a state of things this Tory Government has sat supinely with folded arms without a policy, without a vision, waiting for Providence or charity to do its work.

For nine months the Government watched the paralysing struggle in the Coal Industry. It aided and abetted the mine owners when they locked out the men, and provoked the industrial unrest that led to the General Strike, for which the Government was mainly responsible.

The Government's further record is that it has helped its friends by remissions of taxation, whilst it has robbed the funds of the workers' National Health Insurance Societies, reduced Unemployment Benefits, and thrown thousands of workless men and women on to the Poor Law.

TORIES TAX THE POOR.

The Tory Government has added £38,000,000 to indirect taxation, which is an increased burden on the wage-earners, shop-keepers and lower middle classes. In its only Budget the Labour Government reduced the Food Taxes by £25,000,000. Now that the Election is in sight the Tory Chancellor has repealed what was left of the Tea Duty but has retained the duties on sugar, coffee and cocoa and other foods. This remission only amounts to one-sixth of the additional indirect taxation he has added in the last four years.

Whilst every economic influence has been tending to reduce the cost of living the Government's policy has been to put obstacles in the way. It means to continue this policy. The Tory plan for solving Unemployment and improving trade—called "Safeguarding"—was denounced by the Prime Minister in 1923 as "pottering along." He was right, as experience shows. "Safeguarded" countries have Unemployment, low wages and sweating, poverty, generally corrupt politics, and high costs of living.

THE OLD BOGEY.

In order to hide their record of incompetence and reaction, Tory leaders are trying to frighten the electors with horrifying pictures of the disasters which would come upon the country if a Labour Government were returned.

It was such scaremongering tactics as this which gave the Tories a majority at the last Election. We do not believe that the voters will be misled a second time by such discreditable deception.

We warn the electors against the misrepresentations of Socialism and the aims and policy of the Labour Party, which are already pouring from our opponents.

The Labour Party is neither Bolshevik nor Communist. It is opposed to force, revolution and confiscation as means of establishing the New Social Order. It believes in ordered progress and in democratic methods.

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#119
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The Truth About Protection— The Worker Pays.

By

RT. HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.,
Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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#121

Labour Government's Education Policy

Full Speed Ahead

PRICE ONE PENNY



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1930

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#122

THE MENACE of PROTECTION

By the

Rt. Hon. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.
(Chancellor of the Exchequer)

ONE PENNY



Published by
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KNOWLEDGE IS POWER !

The Labour Government
is giving :—

- (1) An extra Year's Education to Working-class Girls and Boys.
- (2) Maintenance Allowances to the Parents while the Boys and Girls are spending this extra year at school.
- (3) A Fifty per cent. increase in the number of State Scholarships to the Universities.
- (4) An increase in the number of Free Places in Secondary Schools.

FOR DETAILS
SEE OVER

WHO SHALL RULE?

The Peers, or The People ?

THE HOUSE OF LORDS ATTACK THE UNEMPLOYED

The House of Lords made several attempts to spoil the Unemployed Insurance Bill. This measure, now passed into law, conferred many new benefits on the workless from 13th March onwards.

By the repeal of the genuinely seeking work condition and the substitution of a new section, and by other changes in conditions, including the abolition of the transitional conditions, it is probable that about 145,000 to 155,000 additional persons will become eligible for benefit.

The allowance for a wife or other adult dependent is increased from 7s. to 9s. a week.

The insurance age is to be lowered from 16 to 15, when the school-leaving age is raised to 15.

Training is to be provided for young people, wherever practicable, as a condition of their receiving Unemployment Benefit.

Benefit rates for young people are increased by sums ranging up to 4s. weekly.

Better rights of appeal are given to the unemployed, and when once a claim has been admitted, the Insurance Officer will not be able to disallow it.

WHAT THE LORDS DID.

First, they took out the Clause that was to guarantee benefit to the men "genuinely seeking work." This Clause, however, was restored by the House of Commons.

Then they inserted an amendment limiting the operation of the Bill to one year. They knew that if the Government tried to fight them on this point, the procedure would involve a three years' delay before the measure could pass into law. In the meantime, the Unemployment Insurance Fund would be bankrupted, and there would be no money to pay benefit to the workless. The result was that the Government had to compromise, and limit the operation of the Bill to three years.

By their demeanour the Lords have made it clear that they will take up this hostile attitude towards any far-reaching measure of social legislation introduced by the Government.

THE GOVERNMENT WAS ELECTED BY THE VOTES OF
THE PEOPLE. THE PEERS, WHO ARE NOT ELECTED BY
ANYBODY, ARE SETTING THEMSELVES UP AGAINST
THE CHOSEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE.

WHO SHALL RULE?

THE PEERS OR THE PEOPLE ?

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#125



The Labour Government and Agriculture

The Farmer and the Labourer

Labour's opponents are constantly saying that the Labour Government is doing nothing for agriculture, for the Farmer or for the Labourer.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

While it is true that the Government has steadily refused to be committed to proposals which would involve either import duties or subsidies for such commodities as cereals and potatoes, it has been continuously conducting the most comprehensive investigations into alternative means of helping the industry.

In the meantime, in the field of administration the Government has a record of things done unequalled by any previous Government.

What the Labour Government is doing for the Farmer

IMPROVED MARKETING

The Labour Party has always attached the greatest importance to the improvement of marketing methods. In 1924 the Labour Government set up the Markets Branch in the Ministry of Agriculture for the purpose of investigating this problem. Following

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#126

INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF WOMEN'S WORK

History of the Work for
Women Accomplished
by the International
Labour Organisation

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READ TH

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#127

MAY DAY, 1930

Designed by Walter Crane

Register as a reader of the "Daily Herald"

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION **or NATIONAL DECADENCE**

A NEW ERA FOR BRITISH TRANSPORT

Chaotic competition in transport means:—

High operating costs.

The checking of railway electrification.

Holding up progress, improvements and extension of facilities.

High goods charges and high passenger fares.

Endangering the standard of life of the transport workers.

Are the Tories to be trusted to put things right?

Most emphatically not!

The Tories obstructed for months the Road Traffic Bill of the Labour Minister of Transport, Mr. Herbert Morrison.

Again, the Labour Minister of Transport's great and popular Bill for the public ownership and business management of London passenger transport was opposed by the Tories. The scheme was ready. It needed to be done. It is one of the necessary jobs of a "National" Government. But the "National" Government did not pass it into law.

The Labour Party intends to organise the British transport system on a national basis under public ownership. Thus efficient business management will be secured free from improper political interference.

THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY

Have we made the most of this wonderful power, electricity? We have not.

Thousands of miles of streets are without electric cables. Great areas of rural Britain are without a supply at all.

Our main line railways are not electrified.

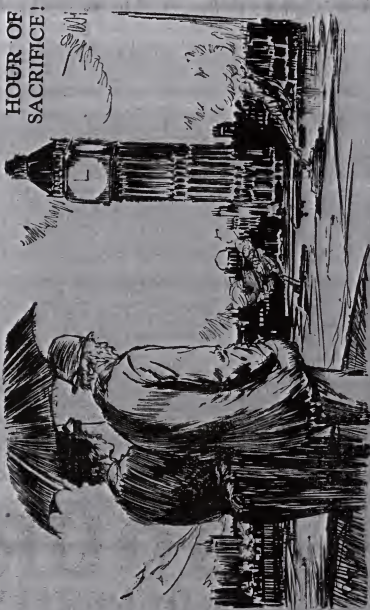
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#129

R.T.O.

HOUR OF
SACRIFICE!



St.
Labour Party
Nov. 15, 1931

X-JN 1129

L32 Z9

#130



The Still-Lost Leaders

Gift
Patrick P. P.
Nov. 18, 1931

P.T.O.

BECAUSE

X- JN 1129

L32 Z9

#131

Labour seeks to reduce prices and to abolish all taxation on food and other things a family needs to buy, and to deal stringently with all profiteering.

BECAUSE

Labour has greatly improved the treatment of, and has raised the benefits for, unemployed workers, and is taking energetic steps to prevent unemployment. Labour seeks to give security as well as a living wage to all workers.

BECAUSE

The Labour Government is already going forward with disarmament, and with the establishment of arbitration between nations in place of war. It has already brought the world nearer to a lasting peace than ever before, and needs women's help to press on this good work. It believes in putting the needs of the workers in all countries before the claims of commercial and financial magnates.

BECAUSE

The District Council has many important powers and duties which should be efficiently carried out, and Labour Councillors will see that this is done.

LABOUR is the Children's Party
IT IS THE PEACE PARTY
therefore
IT IS THE WOMEN'S PARTY

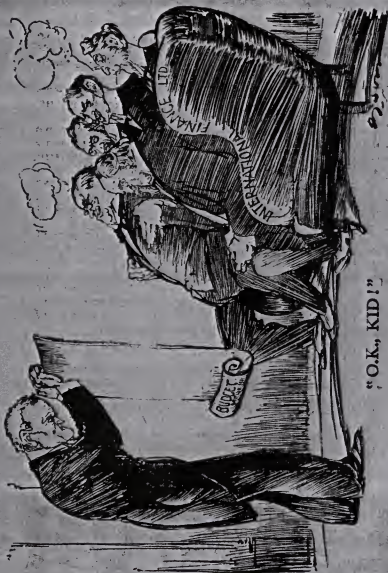
WOMEN ! Vote Labour
At the District Council Elections !

X-JN 1129

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#132

PICT



"O.K., KID!"

344
Gustav P.
Nov. 15, 1931

X-JN 1129

.L32 Z9

#133



THIS IS FOR YOU MADAM !

On shopping day a £1 note appears to go in no time.

It will go more quickly when the Tories impose food taxes.

Everything in the pantry will be dearer. Bread, butter, bacon, cheese — the whole range of food-stuffs that you have to buy for your family.

Can you afford to pay more to the grocer, the butcher, the baker and other tradespeople ?

Food taxes and tariffs are an under-hand method of reducing wages. The Tories want to enforce this in addition to the cuts direct and indirect in wages and salaries they have already imposed.

Labour, as Mr. Henderson stated in the "Daily Herald" on October 12, stands for high wages, not low wages.

Low wages are bad for trade. High wages make for prosperity.

VOTE

LABOUR

AND PROTECT YOUR PURSE

P.T.O.

Leaflet No. 314, 30/31/62/58. Printed by ODHAMS PRESS Ltd., Long Acree, W.C.2, and published by THE LABOUR PARTY, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

X-JN 1129

.L32 29

#134

THE ETERNAL TRIANGLE

You know how the "eternal triangle" leads to domestic discord, acute misery, and final disaster.

Look at this triangle.

On Tariffs Mr. MacDonald's manifesto, reported fully in the "Daily Herald" on October 8, says :—

"The Government must be free to consider every proposal likely to help such as tariffs."

Note that he does not even promise to consider tariffs. He holds himself "free" to consider them.

Mr. Baldwin says :—

"I shall continue to press upon the electors that in my view the tariff is the quickest and most effective weapon."

Lord Beaverbrook declares that Mr. Baldwin favours food taxes.

Now listen to Sir Herbert Samuel :—

"We Liberals are against taxing the food of the people and will not agree to it."

Yet these three have the impudence to pose as leaders of a "National" Government. In the few weeks they have been together they have quarrelled like Kilkenny cats. They will continue to quarrel.

VOTE FOR LABOUR

The ONLY Really United Party

P.T.O.

Leaflet No. 318. 10/31/63500. Printed by OGDEN'S PRESS Ltd., Long Acre, W.C.2, and Published by THE LABOUR PARTY, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

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132 29

#135

BANKING ISSO SIMPLE

It's really very simple.

They rather like you to think that banking is no business of the man in the street, and that high finance is much too high for the woman in the home.

But it's really a simple matter of £ s. d.

The banks decide how much people are to have to spend. That's a fairly big power for individuals to have who are in no way responsible to governments or people, isn't it?

They control the nation's spending by reducing or increasing the number of bank notes in use, and by reducing or increasing the amount of their loans to industrialists. That seems to make them the masters of industry, don't you agree?

This is what Ramsay MacDonald said about them in his book, "Socialism—Critical and Constructive"—

Those who control finance can paralyse the nation, can make it drunk, can keep it normal; and in all their transactions their interests are put first.

They can tighten or loosen the purse strings of governments and manufacturers, they control the means upon which the political and industrial state depends for its existence.

If a Labour Government came into power they could starve it. A financiers' counter-revolution would be more effective than a soldiers' one.

That was a great prophecy. The bankers did break the Labour Government. Foreign and home bankers insisted on cuts in workless benefit. The Labour Government resigned because they would not bow to bankers' dictation.

"The handling of the unemployment benefit cuts was necessitated by special conditions of borrowing, and therefore they must remain."

said the Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, in the House of Commons ("Daily Herald," September 22nd, 1931).

You are a democrat. Do you think democracy can be real while these immense powers are in the hands of private interests? Or do you agree with the Labour Party that banking must be nationally owned and publicly controlled?

VOTE FOR LABOUR AND PROSPERITY

P.T.O.

Leaflet No. 315, 20/11/63pm. Printed by CONWAY PAPER LTD, Long Acre, W.C.2, and Published by THE LABOUR PARTY, Transport House, South Square, S.W.1.

X-JN 1129

-L32 29

#136

JUST ROUND THE CORNER

Always just round the corner.

That's where the trade revival seems to be.

So it is—just round the corner.

But Britain will never get round the corner to it while the wheels of industry are jammed in the ruts of an outworn economic system.

Our country needs a new industrial line-up—courageous, modern, practical—Labour's policy.

Are you content with the prevailing system? Do you think it sensible that the boot and shoe operatives of one town are idle because there is no demand for the goods they make, while the children of the next town run barefooted because their parents have no money to buy shoes?

On August 17, 1931, the "Daily Herald" reported that enormous quantities of coffee had been destroyed in Brazil that oil-wells in America were prohibited from working, and that vast fields of cotton were being ploughed back into the soil because there is "no demand" for these things! Why this waste of useful products?

Labour would solve the Curse of Plenty by adopting a scientific money policy which would help to keep production and consumption moving parallel, so all the goods made could be bought, and all the goods the unemployed could make would be made.

Labour would extend public control over the big industries that shape our industrial destiny. Transport, iron and steel, coal and power . . . the sinews of industry . . . would be vigorously developed under expert public management. Are you satisfied with the way in which industry is run? Or do you want something better, more adapted to modern need?

The steady hum of machinery, the red roar of blast furnaces, the hammer of riveting, armies of men marching to work, much leisure but no unemployment, the weekly pay envelope more substantial. . . . You can help build that world.

Vote Labour

P.T.O.

Leaflet No. 317, 10/31/5212. Printed by CONTANS PRESS Ltd, Long Acre, W.C.2, and Published by THE LABOUR PARTY, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1.

TARIFFS X-JN 1129 #137 L32 Z9 —and the Housewife

The so-called "National" Party is asking for a
"free hand" for Tariffs.

This will mean :

DEARER FOOD AND THEREFORE LESS FOOD

On her round of shopping the Housewife
would have to pay higher prices :

At the Baker's for

BREAD
PASTRY
CAKES

At the Grocer's for

BACON
FLOUR
MARGARINE
LARD
MARMALADE
JAM
SUGAR
CONDENSED MILK
CURRANTS
RAISINS
DRIED FRUITS
PORRIDGE OATS
PEPPER & OTHER SPICES

At the Dairy for

BUTTER
EGGS
CHEESE

At the Green-

grocer's for

VEGETABLES
ONIONS
TOMATOES
APPLES
ORANGES
BANANAS
LEMONS
GRAPES
PEARS
PLUMS
NUTS

At the Butcher's for

BEEF
MUTTON
LAMB
PORK

At the Sweetshop for

THE CHILDREN'S SWEETS

Housewives!

SECURE PROTECTION
AGAINST DEARER FOOD BY
VOTING LABOUR

X-JN 1129
L32 Z9

#138

A Simple Matter

Q.—Why did we form a National Government ?

A.—In order to create confidence and thus avoid the appalling catastrophe of going off the Gold Standard.

Q.—What did it do to restore confidence ?

A.—It instituted equality of sacrifice.

Q.—And what is equality of sacrifice ?

A.—A 10 per cent. cut for the man with £40 a year, a 3 per cent. cut for the man with £40 a week, and a 5 per cent. cut for the man with £1,000 a week.

Q.—And what did this measure do to restore confidence ?

A.—It undermined the discipline of the Senior Service.

Q.—And what else did the National Government do ?

A.—It borrowed £80,000,000 at about twice the current rate of interest.

Q.—And did these courageous measures keep us on the Gold Standard ?

A.—No, we went off the Gold Standard less than four weeks after the National Government came into power.

Q.—And did the appalling things all happen ?

A.—No. The "Daily Mail" said that it was "a load off our backs," and the "Daily Express" that "nothing more heartening had happened for years," that "at last we are rid of the Gold Standard—rid of it for good and all"; and the "News-Chronicle" that if we only kept our heads everything would be all right, and the "Times" that it was a wise and necessary action, and the "Evening Standard" that it was the policy that it had advocated all along, and Mr. Snowden, in the House of Commons, that although we had gone off the Gold Standard for the moment we were not really going to devalue the pound.

Q.—Why then did we form a National Government ?

A.—In order to add £80,000,000 to the National Debt held in foreign currencies and to go off the Gold Standard in September instead of in August.

VOTE LABOUR

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The Folly of Tariffs

X- JN 1129

.L32 Z9

#139

A Tariff is a tax on things we buy.

The Government collects the tax on foreign goods.

The Capitalist collects as much as he can, in a higher price, from home goods.

Tariffs, therefore, make things dearer.

But we sell as well as buy.

Tariffs injure our foreign customers.

Therefore, Tariffs make them try to hurt us.

Therefore, Tariffs increase hate on all sides.

Therefore, Tariffs multiply armaments.

Therefore, Tariffs destroy confidence.

Therefore, Tariffs increase unrest.

Therefore, Tariffs cause war.

Behind Tariff Walls men stand to arms.

The Geneva Conference of 1927

(business men and economists of all nations)
decided that

Tariffs make Europe poor.

The Tory plan is to make Britain poor as well.

But *some* people gain from Tariffs, as *some* people gain from war.

America has Tariffs.

Germany has Tariffs.

In America about 10 million are unemployed.

In Germany about 5 million are unemployed.

A Tariff decides *who* is unemployed.

It may reduce unemployment in one trade by doubling it in another.

But it cannot reduce the actual number of the unemployed.

A Tariff destroys employment abroad.

Therefore, it reduces purchasing power abroad, and so impoverishes the whole world at the very time when the increase of production power requires an increase in purchasing power.

VOTE LABOUR

[P.T.O.]

Lab. Party
Nov. 12, 1931

X- JN 1129

.L32 Z9

#140

WAGES MUST COME DOWN!

WHY?—BECAUSE THE BANKERS SAY SO

BANK OF ENGLAND

"Readjustment apparently requires a further considerable decline in prices of manufactured goods, and *this must involve reductions in salaries and wages* as well as in other costs."—Professor Sprague, Economic Adviser to the Bank of England, on June 16, 1931.

NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK

"A reduction in wages is a hard road to travel—but I feel sure some move in this direction is inevitable."—Sir Harry Goschen, Chairman of the Bank, on January 29, 1931.

BARCLAYS BANK

"... The rigidity of wage rates ... in my view the removal of these difficulties is vital."—Mr. F. C. Goodenough, Chairman of the Bank, on January 20, 1931.

WESTMINSTER BANK

"The question is much too big for any temporary palliatives. The entrepreneur may be asked to accept lower profits ... and *workers to accept lower wages and even to maintain an open mind on the subject of longer hours.*"—*Westminster Bank Review*, January, 1931.

THE TORIES AND LIBERALS SUPPORT
THE BANKERS IN THE POLICY OF CUTS

**ONLY THE LABOUR PARTY
OPPOSES THE BANKERS**

(P.T.O.)

#141

THE PLOT AGAINST LABOUR

An Appeal to Fair-minded Electors

This Election is being fought
by the so-called "National"
Party with one object only

That OBJECT is to SMASH the LABOUR PARTY

The *Tory Times* let the cat
out of the bag. In a leading
article on October 7th the
Times said:

"The decision of the Cabinet...
means that all parties to the decision
have realised the overwhelming im-
portance of inflicting upon the Socialist
Party a crushing defeat."

**The Labour Party is the only Party
that stands between the People
and Food Taxes, Low Wages, and a
General Lowering of the Standard
of Living.**

VOTE LABOUR

and KILL THE PLOT

P.T.O.

*For
Labour Party
Nov. 16, 1931*

VOTE LABOUR

The People we ask you to Save by
YOUR VOTE

I. THE TEACHERS—because they cannot educate our children if they are harassed by financial worries.

II. THE SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AND AIRMEN—because it is not fair to cut down their earnings so that their wives and families have not enough to live on.

III. THE POLICE—because they are entitled to a fair wage for very arduous and responsible work.

IV. THE UNEMPLOYED—because it is our duty to maintain them above starvation level.

V. THE WORKERS AND SALARIED OFFICIALS in industry and Government and Municipal employment—because an attempt is being made everywhere under the cloak of economy to reduce their standard of life.

VI. THE PERSONS WITH SMALL FIXED OR EARNED INCOMES—because with a rising cost of living they are least able to bear heavy extra taxation.

The People we *don't* ask you to
worry about

I. THE BANKERS AND BANK SHAREHOLDERS—because they have made a very good thing out of the country in spite of the world blizzard.

X-JN 1129

.L32 Z9

#143

TO LIBERAL ELECTORS

At the last Election 5,301,127 Liberals voted against Tariffs.

At this Election Liberal electors may decide the vital issue of whether the Tory plot to fasten Tariffs on the people is to succeed or fail.

Mr. Lloyd George, in his Broadcast Speech, said:—

"Protection is the impending peril. I should use my vote to avert that calamity."

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE also said that if the Tory plot succeeds:—

"Liberals would be responsible, for they can save us from such a catastrophe if they keep their heads."

Mr. MacDonald says he will "consider" Tariffs. But Mr. Baldwin says he will "press" for Tariffs. And the Tory Tariffists are the dominant party in the "National" Government.

If the "National" Parties secure a majority, the Tory Party will insist upon Tariffs being introduced. The Tory leaders have made that clear beyond a shadow of doubt.

The "Manchester Guardian," in a leading article on October 17th, said:—

"No Candidate can offer a 'free hand' to Mr. MacDonald without surrendering his own freedom of conscience."

LABOUR IS THE ONE PARTY IN THIS ELECTION SOLID AGAINST TARIFFS.

THERE IS ONLY ONE COURSE OPEN TO LIBERALS WHO DESIRE TO AVERT THE CALAMITY OF PROTECTION—

VOTE LABOUR

[P.T.O.]

X- JN 1129

L32 Z9

#144

Why an Election ?

Because the Doctors say the Nation is suffering from a grave disease.
Who are the Doctors?

The Beaverbrook Party, the Churchill Party, the Baldwin Party, the Samuel Party, the Simonite Party, the Mosley Party and the deserters from the National Labour Party.

And what is their Remedy for this grave Disease?

They refuse to tell. Their Remedy is a Secret Remedy.

But have they a Remedy?

All we know is that they were sitting round the sick-bed of the Patient for three weeks trying to make up a Prescription and they failed.

What did they do then?

They decided to frighten the Patient and get him to agree to some sort of Surgical Operation which would take about five years. The patient would be under Chloroform. Surely they could find a Remedy within five years.

But perhaps the Doctors will Disagree again?

Then they will allow the Tory Doctor to do the job.

Why?

He is a Specialist in Diseases. He gave us most of the Diseases from which the Patient is now suffering—the Gold Standard in 1925, War Debts, Reparations and the rest.

Has he a Remedy?

He wants to feed the Patient on a Diet of Tariffs—if necessary, with a strait jacket and a stomach pump.

But that is *Another Disease*, not a Remedy. The World is dying of that Disease.

That is so! The Tories want to infect us with Foreign Diseases.

**SEND THE NATIONAL PARTY
TO THE
ISOLATION HOSPITAL**

VOTE LABOUR

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Sgt
Labour Party
rec. 12, 1931

X-JN 1129

.L32 Zg

#145



That's the Pound . . . that was !!

(with apologies to "Shell")

On August 24th the "National"
Government was formed to main-
tain the Gold Standard.

On September 21st the "National"
Government abandoned the Gold
Standard.

Don't Have Your Head Turned!

VOTE LABOUR

[P.T.O.]

X- JN 1129

.L32 Z9

*Labour party (Ed. Brit.)
displeet.*

#146

Why Labour must be represented **on Local Councils**

Parliament makes the laws of the country. But the actual administration of many of them lies with the local authorities. A law may be a good law on paper, but everything depends on how it is administered. A good Housing Act is of little use if the local councils do not take it up enthusiastically and apply it.

WHAT LOCAL COUNCILS CAN DO

The condition of the people as a whole could be very greatly improved if the Social Legislation now on the Statute Book were sympathetically administered, e.g.—

HOUSING

Local Councils have power to build the million houses which the country still needs, and to clear away all slums and replace them with decent, well-built houses.

EDUCATION

Local Councils have power to build more and better schools, provide for elementary and secondary education, reduce the size of classes, provide meals for school children, offer far more scholarships, build more nursery schools and schools for defective children, and do a hundred and one other things.

POOR LAW AND UNEMPLOYED

The action of the "National" Government in making nearly 900,000 of the insured unemployed submit to the Poor Law means test before they can receive transitional unemployment benefit, makes it absolutely imperative to increase Labour's representatives on the local councils so that as members of public assistance committees they may be in a position to safeguard the rights of these unfortunate people.

If you stand for better housing conditions and improved educational facilities and the defence of the unemployed

VOTE LABOUR

WHAT *your*

District Council Can Do **HOUSING**

Build as many new houses as are needed, to let at low rents.

Clear away every slum and every unfit house in the district, and build new houses, to let at low rents, for the persons displaced.

Make sure that existing houses are kept by the landlords in a fit state of repair and sanitation.

MATERNITY and CHILD **WELFARE**

Provide, or arrange for the County Council to provide, for the welfare of mothers and children.

This may include medical advice, ante-natal clinics, infant consultation centres, treatment centres, health visitors, nurses, midwives, maternity homes and hospitals, hospitals for infants, convalescent homes, home helps, milk and food for mothers and children.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Provide for adequate sewerage and drainage.

Undertake scavenging and cleansing.

Prevent sanitary nuisances.

Regulate offensive trades.

Provide for adequate water supply.

Provide for prevention and treatment of infectious diseases.

Provide general hospitals.

Make arrangements for the treatment of eye diseases and injuries.

Many of these and other public health duties may be undertaken in co-operation with, or with the assistance of the County Council.

**TO MAKE SURE THAT THE
DISTRICT COUNCIL DOES ITS DUTY**

Vote Labour at the District Council Elections

The So-Called National Government

HAS DECIDED TO

1. Throw Increased Burdens on the Local Rates

by Reducing Education and Unemployment Grants, and by increasing the burden of Poor Relief.

2. Hit the Unemployed

by cutting down grants for unemployment works, by cutting down Insurance Benefit, and by giving the Poor Law Authorities power to reduce or refuse benefit to a million unemployed.

3. Cut Down Wages

by Cutting Down Wages in the National Public Services, and by urging Wage Reductions in Local Services—in order to encourage general Wage Reductions in industry.

*Labour firmly opposes these attacks on the
Standard of Living.*

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.L32 Z9

#149

FARM WORKERS!

Your Wages will be Cut!

Your Working Hours will be Longer!

Your Standard of Living will be in Danger!

**IF THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"
HAS ITS WAY**

The "National Government" consists of Tories and Liberals.

It has been set up in order to carry out the Bankers' Policy of Cutting Wages.

Already it has cut the Pay of Tens of Thousands—Teachers, Police, Postal Workers and other Civil Servants, Dockyard Workers, and so on.

Already it has cut Unemployment Insurance Benefit, and handed over 800,000 Unemployed Workers to the Poor Law Authorities.

Already it has given notice to the Special Group of Inspectors who were appointed by the Labour Minister of Agriculture to compel the payment of the Proper Wages under the Agricultural Wages Act.

If the "National Government" is returned to power at the General Election, it is an absolute certainty that your wages will be cut and that you will have to work longer hours.

The "National Party" has no Agricultural Policy except a lot of catchwords.

The Tory Party has no Agricultural Policy except a lot of catchwords.

And the Liberals don't count.

**ONLY THE LABOUR PARTY HAS A REAL
LAND POLICY!**

P.T.O.

X- JN 1129

L32 Z9

#150

"NATIONAL GOVERNMENT" ATTACKS FARM WORKERS

The first test of a Government's pledges to farm workers is the "Wages test."

The "National Government" has already made an attack on farm wages.

In October, 1929, the Labour Minister of Agriculture was convinced that the Agricultural Wages Act, passed by the Labour Government in 1924, was not being observed by many of the employers.

He appointed a team of special inspectors to visit systematically all farms, district by district.

Wherever these Inspectors went they found wholesale evasions of the Law.

They found that ONE WORKER IN FIVE was being paid less than the Legal Minimum Wage.

These Inspectors stopped much of this serious underpayment. Their appointment was a piece of work of first-class value to farm workers.

The "National Government" does not care for that.

All these Inspectors have got notice to go.

The Special Inspections are to stop.

This is "economy" at the expense of the workers' wages. It is direct encouragement to the employers who underpay their men. It helps them to continue to ignore the Act.

**"NATIONAL" CANDIDATES CANNOT
PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO GET THESE
INSPECTORS BACK OR TO STRENGTHEN
THE WAGES ACT.**

**The Labour Party Gives Both These
Definite Pledges.**

VOTE LABOUR

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X-JN 1129

-L32 Z9

#151

LABOUR'S POLICY FOR COAL

The Coal Industry is unhealthy and depressed. Who is responsible? Not the Labour Government. When the Labour Government assumed office in 1929, the industry was in a state of chaos.

In 1930 the Labour Government introduced the Coal Mines Bill. Being in a minority it could not propose the real solution—Nationalisation.

This Bill was badly mauled by both Tories and Liberals.

Nevertheless, the Act did infuse some semblance of organisation where none had been before.

The Act aimed to control production in accordance with market demands, and to fix minimum prices at the pit head.

Central and District Councils were established for the allocation of quarterly quotas of production, and the fixing of district prices. A Coal Mines Reorganisation Commission was set up for the purpose of effecting Amalgamation. A National Wages Board was provided for, and the Consumer was safeguarded by National and District Committees of Investigation. Miners' hours were reduced by half-an-hour.

Despite the efforts of wreckers, the Act has worked fairly well, but competition in prices has been rife. The folly of Tory and Liberal opposition to complete regulation has again been exposed.

Moreover, the Coal Industry depends largely on its Exports. The Labour Government's investigations in Europe proved that international regulation was as urgent as national regulation.

COAL OWNERS OBSTRUCT

Time after time the Minister of Mines tried to persuade our coal owners to discuss international agreement on production and price.

Most of the coal owners pooh-poohed the suggestion. They said the lost markets would be recovered if the Government and the Miners' Federation would mind their own business.

Then came the bombshell from France. Owing to the fall in home production, the French Government decided to restrict foreign purchases of Coal.

Our coal owners woke up at last and summoned an International Conference in September. They are still talking.

The Labour Party warns the people that reorganisation and regulation by private owners will bring no benefit to the mine worker or the consumer. There must be national control.

This valuable national asset, Coal, must not be allowed to decay in private hands any longer. It must be developed.

The demand for Coal falls. The demand for Oil rises.

COAL CAN BE TURNED INTO OIL

Only the State can put up the huge Capital needed to provide the plant for this transformation. The Labour Party solution of the Coal Problem is therefore NATIONALISATION, Public ownership and Control.

Nationalisation would protect the mineworkers and the consumers and distribute the benefits of organisation equitably.

VOTE FOR LABOUR AND NATIONALISATION OF COAL

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.L32 Z9

#152

LABOUR'S POLICY **FOR** **IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY**

The reorganisation of the iron and steel industry is essential to the industrial life of this country and for the employment of the workpeople.

This the private owners of the industry have so far failed to accomplish, but plans for a regional scheme of organisation have been promoted by the Bankers' Industrial Development Company (practically a subsidiary of the Bank of England).

Meantime, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, representing organised workers in the industry, have issued a constructive report insisting that the situation can only be met by bringing the industry under public control and placing its organisation and the responsibility for its development both nationally and in respect of international trading relations in the hands of a public corporation.

A BLANK CHEQUE

On the other hand, the employers demand a drastic tariff to protect the interests of private enterprise.

Such a crude method of dealing with the industry would prove harmful because it would bolster up inefficiency, intensify international conflict and disregard the fact that iron and steel is the raw material of shipbuilding and other industries, and of important export trades.

The Labour Party emphatically supports the Confederation proposals for a Public Corporation to effect a national planning of the industry, to organise its resources, to control imports and prices, and to safeguard the consumer and the interests of the workpeople, the trade unions to be brought into the closest co-operation with a national scheme of planned development.

VOTE FOR LABOUR AND **RATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION**

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L32 29

#153



COTTON



THE Cotton Industry, since 1920, has suffered a depression, the like of which it has never experienced before. The contributory causes have been both internal and external. The organic structure of the industry, with its rampant individualism, has been mainly responsible for its declining power.

The Labour Government, immediately after assuming office in 1929, appointed a Special Committee to investigate the causes of the depression and to propose remedies that would enable it to improve its competitive efficiency. The Special Committee recommended large-scale amalgamations, along with other proposals.

Many efforts have been made since the publication of the Report, by the representatives of the Labour Government and the Trades Unions, to secure the application of these proposals, but they have been vigorously resisted by those responsible for controlling the industry.

The need of the moment is drastic organic reform within the industry, and the Labour policy is to co-ordinate all sections, from the raw material to the finished product.

This unification would require a Central Controlling Body who would be specially concerned with devising plans for eliminating the internal competition that exists, and considering all the external factors that militate against the export of yarns and cloths to world markets.

The Labour policy of Reconstruction, which aims at the elimination of the uneconomic units of production, and the scientific concentration of the industry, is the only way to save the Cotton Trade from further decay.



VOTE LABOUR

For Prosperity of Cotton Industry

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UNCORRECTED PROOF

X-JN 1129

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#154

THE ATTACK

on the

WAGE-EARNER

Every vote for Labour is a vote to protect the Workers' Standard of Life.

The "National" Government (a trick name for the Tory Party) has already cut the wages of hundreds of thousands of its own workers. It did not consult them. It did not negotiate with them through the existing machinery.

These cuts are the signal to Local Government and private employers to follow them.

The "National" Government is certain to use the Trades Dispute Act of 1927—the Workers' Discipline Act—to prevent effective resistance.

The "National" Government has already imposed higher contributions for Unemployment Insurance from the wage-earner.

It has deprived him of the right to benefit which the Labour Government secured to him.

It has thrown on the mercy of the Poor Law nearly a million workers.

A "National" Government means tariffs. The £ is off the gold standard. Its value has fallen. Prices are rising. The price of food and everything else will rise still more because of tariffs. The value of reduced wages will be further reduced.

A "National" (Tory) Government means higher taxes on those who can least afford them.

There will be less education.

There will be discontented teachers.

All local authorities are being pressed to spend less. There will be economy in housing schemes.

If the "National" Government gets a majority, the Rent Restriction Act will always be in danger.

Its repeal has been the Tory policy for years.

P.T.O.

UNCORRECTED PROOF

X-JN 1129

.L32 Z9

#155

RESERVES OF LABOUR

AND

RESERVES OF WAR

The Navy, Army and Air Force are maintained by the State during peace time as Reserves against the outbreak of War.

All classes of the people contribute through taxation to the up-keep of these forces.

In 1930 we spent on the three Defence Forces £111,524,000.

The Navy cost £52,574,000, the Army, £40,150,000, and the Air Force, £17,800,000.

The average cost per head of the Naval Forces was £187.5.

The average cost of Officers alone was £471.1.

The average cost of Naval Seamen alone was £160.8.

In the Army the average cost per head (all ranks) was £136.

The average cost per head of Officers was £541.

The average cost per head of Men was £108.1.

The average cost per head of the Air Force was £183.3.

The average cost of Officers alone was £607.

The average cost of Men was £132.6.

The nation agrees to the vast expenditure and insists that the Officers and Men in their services should receive adequate pay.

The nation realises that its defence forces must be kept in health and vigour and that their peace of mind

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#156



The Free Hand—
in the Mailed Fist

CHT
Labour Party
Nov. 18, 1931

P.T.O.

X-JN 1129
.L32 29

Labour party (Gt. Brit.)
Largest

#157



The "National" Attack on the Unemployed

Old Soldiers to the Poor Law

- Q. What is to be done with the men and women on transitional benefit?
- A. There will be an "application of needs test to transitional benefit."
- Q. How many are there of these people?
- A. About nine hundred thousand; there are between five and six hundred thousand people on transitional benefit now; next month three hundred and thirty-seven thousand persons *more* will be put on transitional benefit, all, that is, who have drawn twenty-six weeks' benefit in a year.

#158

"NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

STOPS HOUSEBUILDING

Local Councils can build three classes of houses for Working-class Tenants

- A1 (First-class)
- A2 (Second-class)
- A3 (Third-class)

THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT" HAS NOW ORDERED THE LOCAL COUNCILS TO STOP BUILDING FIRST-CLASS AND SECOND-CLASS HOUSES.

ONLY THIRD-CLASS HOUSES ARE NOW ALLOWED.

THESE ARE THE SMALLEST AND MEANEST!
THEY HAVE NO PARLOUR!
THE BATH IS IN THE SCULLERY!

THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT" SAYS

—"THIRD-CLASS HOUSES ARE GOOD ENOUGH
FOR YOU."

The National Federation of Building Trade Operatives declare that thousands more Building-Workers will lose their jobs because of the National Government's contemptible order.

Your Only Remedy is

VOTE LABOUR

Labour party (G.P. Bant)
Completed

X-JN 1129

L-32 Z9

#159

Labour Governments' Record of Achievement

The Labour Government was in office just over two years. It was faced with enormous difficulties. It was in a Minority. In order to get measures through Parliament it had to conciliate some of its opponents.

In Opposition, the Tory Party, aided by their Press and the House of Lords, organised every conceivable method of obstruction calculated to torpedo the efforts of the Labour Government to clear up the mess they had left, and to establish the economic and social life of the people on sound foundations.

In the light of these facts the achievements of the Labour Government were truly wonderful.

The following brief survey of its accomplishments will prove this claim to the hilt :—

HOME AFFAIRS.

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS.

The Labour Government Pensions Act of 1929 redressed the injustice of the Tory Act, which unjustly excluded from benefit scores of thousands of women. This Act will ultimately grant pensions to over 500,000 widows, old people and children whom the Tories left out.

BIG UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEMES.

The Labour Government's measures for promoting employment involved the expenditure of £183,000,000. These covered schemes for development work on roads, railways, docks, gas, water and other public services, and for Colonial development and land reclamation.

MAINTENANCE OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Labour Government abolished the "not genuinely seeking work" condition, and brought into benefit about 170,000 of deserving unemployed. This reduced the numbers seeking Poor Law relief, and thus saved the rates.

An increase of insurance benefit was given to certain classes by the same Act.

COAL INDUSTRY REORGANISATION.

The Labour Government, in the Coal Mines Act, 1930, brought some order into the coal industry. Marketing schemes for output and price regulation were established. A commission was appointed to promote or initiate schemes of unification. The consumer was safeguarded.

In the Act of 1931 the Labour Government reduced the hours of miners, and fixed minimum wages and subsistence allowances for a year.

ROAD TRANSPORT.

The Labour Government's Road Traffic Act was a monumental piece of work. It created the conditions for a steady advance towards a nationally co-ordinated transport industry.

SLUM CLEARANCE.

Under the Tory Government in five years only 8,265 slum houses were demolished. Under the Labour Government's Act provision was made for demolishing 60,000 in the next five years.

Re-housing in advance of demolition was provided for, and the rents will be exceptionally low. Houses for old people without families will be available, a boon to many old age pensioners.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON'S

"Great service to the Country"

X-JN 1129.432 Zg

#160

A LITTLE while ago the Press of the country was unanimous in its praise of Mr. Arthur Henderson. Below are a few typical extracts from the Tory and Liberal papers during the period when Mr. Henderson was Foreign Secretary.



THE TIMES, March 31, 1931: "Mr. Henderson is certainly to be congratulated on his handling of an episode which, as he puts it, has caused a regrettable perturbation in Europe, and to which any precipitate or tactless action might have given a very serious turn." (The episode referred to was the proposed Austro-German Customs Union.)

Mr. J. L. Garvin, in the *OBSERVER*, May 31, 1931: "Mr. Arthur Henderson, insisting on the speedy evacuation of the Rhineland by the foreign garrisons, accomplished the best single stroke for peace that any Foreign Minister has achieved in Europe since the Armistice. He continues to exercise a calming and steady influence in all European connections. His choice with unanimity to preside over the critical and even hazardous proceedings of the Disarmament Conference next year is a conspicuous honour not only to himself but to his country."

NEWS-CHRONICLE, March 5, 1931: "Mr. Henderson is deservedly the most powerful Minister in the Cabinet to-day. He has developed the qualities of real statesmanship in international affairs, and has done a great service, without any spectacular display, to the Government and to the country."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, March 4, 1931: "The tact, perseverance and good humour which enabled him to build up the great Labour party organisation has stood him in good stead in one of the most difficult negotiations in recent diplomatic history."

**THIS IS THE MAN WHO IS NOW BEING HELD UP
AS AN "UNPATRIOTIC" LEADER OF A PARTY
OUT TO BRING THE COUNTRY TO RUIN!**

**Why the change? The answer is that Mr. Henderson has REMAINED
TRUE TO HIS PRINCIPLES AND HAS STOOD BY THE PEOPLE IN
DEFENCE OF THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING. That is his "offence"!**

**Labour is the truly Patriotic Party with a
policy that will make for a Better Britain!**

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON HAS SERVED HIS COUNTRY WELL.

**GIVE LABOUR A MAJORITY THIS TIME
TO CARRY ON THE GOOD WORK!**

Leaflet No. 327. Price 3s. per 1,000, carriage paid. Printed by St. Clements Press Ltd., Portugal Street, Kingsway, W.C.2, and Published by The Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.



THE STORY OF THE YELLOW GOD

By
A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

ONCE upon a time, dear children, there was an island country called Bankaland. It had a Parliament and a Government, but the real management of the country was in the hands of a rich tribe called the Bankas, the chiefs of which told Governments what to do. This tribe had become rich, not merely by lending its own treasure, but by persuading related tribes in other countries to entrust their treasure to them, and this treasure was used as a pedestal for the tribal god.

The deity of the tribe was a misshapen lump of yellow metal, and his name was Gold Standard. No one had ever seen him, but he was reputed to work miracles. The Medicine Men who were kept in and around the temple of the god told the common people that if anything happened to him corn would cease to grow, ships would not be able to cross the sea, and the entire nation would perish.

Now the Bankas and their related tribes in other lands had managed affairs so well that prosperity reigned all over the earth, only its inhabitants being poor. But all was not well with the Bankas themselves. Through gambling and risky enterprises they had lost much of their relations' treasure, and began to fear for their own. And wicked men among the people were doubting the cleverness of the Bankas. Some went so far as to say that the god himself was hollow, which indeed he was, but they were not supposed to know it. To add to the troubles of the Banka tribe, just at this period the Government of the country contained fewer of themselves than usual, and seemed reluctant to obey their commands. So their leaders resolved to frighten the people into changing the Government. Through their Medicine Men, they proclaimed loudly that the common people were eating too much, and were thereby endangering the safety of the State (by which, of course, they meant themselves).

When some of the elders in the Government heard this, they trembled and asked the chiefs of the Bankas "What must be done?" And these replied: "The remedy is simple. If the common people are made to eat less, there will be more for us, and our friends across the sea will send more nourishment for our great god, Gold Standard." And they put their tongues in their cheeks.

And some of the elders believed them, and in their speeches and proclamations endeavoured to frighten the people into eating one meal less a day. But most of the elders withdrew from

27
L32 29

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THIS YEAR IS 1931 DISARMAMENT 1931 YEAR

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., the Foreign Secretary, speaking at the Women's International League Demonstration in London on February 9th, said:—

A Great Campaign

We are here to plead the cause of Disarmament and to open a great Campaign. In that Campaign I express the hope that the women of the world will play a conspicuous and an effective part. I have never believed that the mothers and the sisters and the daughters of this country would support any policy that was calculated to involve their sons, their brothers, or their fathers in such an experience as so many went through from 1914 to 1918. So I, for one, look to the women in this great Campaign, believing that they will not fail.

We should have a very clear understanding as to what we mean by Disarmament. We must always remember that our Government is a member of the League of Nations, Under that League we have accepted certain obligations, and therefore we stand very definitely for a reduction of the national armed forces of every land by solemn international treaty.

A Great World Agreement

Under such a treaty the Governments of the world should agree to accept certain fixed levels for their national forces, and while that treaty lasts each country is under a very definite obligation not to exceed the fixed limit. This is of much higher importance than reduction by any Government acting by itself. However important it may be for us to economise in military expenditure, Disarmament by collective agreement, by world action, is of more vital importance to the entire human race. Disarmament by international agreement is a definite recognition by all the nations that their armies, their navies, and their air forces are matters which concern not themselves alone, but other peoples also. It is an acceptance of an imperative obligation that military preparations shall no longer be determined by a nation's unrestricted will only, but it shall be part of the general concern of the international community in which we live. Disarmament in this sense has now become the first question in international politics at the present day.

The Preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations has prepared a draft Convention, and the Council has decided that the World Disarmament Conference will commence in February, 1932. In that Convention the Commission has laid down the methods by which the reduction of armaments shall be effected, and the new levels of national armaments shall be drawn up.

A Great Fact

The Convention may not be perfect. It may be open to improvement. But it is a



THE RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

great fact, indeed, that we have now an agreed basis from which we can start. It is a great fact that, under the terms of this basis, every factor of international armed strength—men, material, money, soldiers, weapons, equipment—must be dealt with. It is a great fact that, under the terms of this basis, any measure of Disarmament can be carried through, however drastic, to which the Governments will agree.

Everything now depends upon how this preparatory framework is completed, and upon the figures which the Governments insert.

The figures will depend upon the public opinion of the world. At the Disarmament Conference the Governments will do what the peoples want. If the peoples want Disarmament, they can have it. If the peoples exert their will, they can compel results.

A Great Year

All the friends of peace in this and other lands have a year before them in which to mobilise the opinions of the world. In the twelve months which will elapse before the Conference meets, you have a great and unique opportunity which may never come again. You have an opportunity to say to politicians and statesmen here and abroad that the common peoples want Disarmament—that they want peace.

You must declare open warfare upon anarchic militarism; you must show the Governments of the world that the new order, which you have begun to create through the League of Nations, must and shall be made to triumph.

A Great Memory

Everywhere the common man, who was a private soldier in the last great struggle, believed that he was fighting in a war that was to end war, so that his children might never have to fight. But a new generation is growing up who never knew the war, and many of those who knew it are forgetting it.

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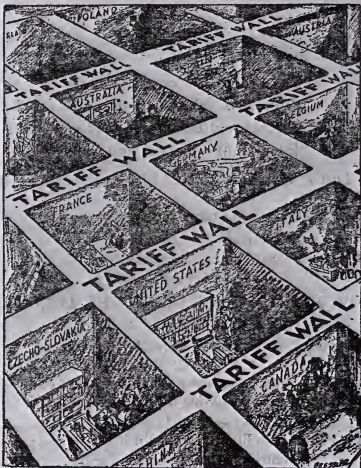
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#163

If you don't want to be robbed by Tariffs in a thousand
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THE TORY REMEDY FOR BAD TRADE



From the "New York Nation."

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#164

LABOUR AND THE CRISIS

PRICE ONE PENNY

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INDIA AND GREAT BRITAIN

*(Speech broadcast by the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the
Round Table Conference)*

FOR over half a century Kings and Queens, Viceroy and responsible British statesmen have been assuring India that the main purpose of our presence has been to give gradually to India increasing powers of self-government. The whole of our education has been to that end. For we must have seen that the education of ever-increasing numbers of young Indians on Western lines, bringing them into touch with Western political ideas, putting the speeches of Burke, the essays of Macaulay, and our own constitutional text-books into their hands, was only laying up for us untold trouble and creating an impossible situation, unless we meant to let them govern themselves sooner or later. As contributions to the fulfilment of our declared objects we have had the whole series of political evolutionary changes marked by the conspicuous milestones of the Morley-Minto Reforms, and then the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. Each one of these changes was launched with a declaration that it was a step towards the goal of self-government, and the latter provided especially that after a period of years a statutory commission should be appointed to consider what further changes were possible as the result of the working of that partial and imperfect Constitution. That is why the Commission known as the Simon Commission was appointed. It has presented a Report of the very greatest value. It was followed by the comments of the Government of India, and the leaders of all British political parties have pledged themselves that the Government in office should have a consultation in one form or another with the leaders of Indian opinion before the British Parliament had said its last word on any measure changing the existing Constitution. That is the origin of the Round Table Conference.

Events have moved very fast in India during the last few years. It is unfortunate that a good deal of the enthusiasm created has been impatient and has overflowed the bounds of wise political activity. That has always happened, however, when circumstances were similar, and we must face it without losing our heads or being diverted from our purpose. If that were to take place, and we were to be turned away from a policy of reason and justice because we have been met by one of obstruction and irrationality, that would just mean that we had abandoned what, in our opinion, was the only way to secure settlement and order. The first immediate result of such a change in policy would be that lawlessness would increase, constitutional changes by political means would become more and more difficult, and no one—even the most pessimistic—could forecast the darkness and confusion of the future.



LABOUR WILL SAVE AGRICULTURE

"The Conservative Governments of 1923 and 1925 entered into definite undertakings and gave pledges to the farming community which were shamelessly repudiated or neglected. As a result of that negligence, the position of agriculture in Great Britain has gone from bad to worse."

TORY Daily Mail, August 2nd, 1930.

"The Labour Government has now gone forward with a definite programme for the assistance of agriculture."

TORY Daily Mail, August 2nd, 1930.

"There has never been such an agricultural Parliamentary Session as this, and there has never been a more enthusiastic Minister of Agriculture than Dr. Addison."

LIBERAL Manchester Guardian, August 5th, 1931

The Standard of Living of the Agricultural Workers, and of others engaged in Agriculture, depends on the Prosperity of the Industry

In its two years of Office, the Minority Labour Government made a big start with its Great Plan for Agriculture.

Much more could have been done but for the fierce opposition of the Tories.

AND NOW the "National Government" (consisting of Tories and Liberals) has already stopped Labour's Great Plan—and if the Tories and Liberals are returned to power, they will utterly destroy the work that has been started.

MARKETING

We buy millions of pounds worth of Foodstuffs from abroad which could be produced at home.

The chief reason is—that our Farmers are not properly organised.

They are at the mercy of the dealers and other middlemen.

They get less than they should for their produce.

By co-operating together, they can improve their methods of distribution and reduce costs.

By co-operating together, they can secure the best methods of production—grading, central storage, economical transport, and so on.

ABOLISH GLUT PRICES

The Agricultural Marketing Act, passed by the Labour Government, can revolutionise British Agriculture—if it is used.

Organisations of producers can be set up—to arrange for proper grading and packing, central transport and storage, and up-to-date marketing—and with power to deal with blacklegs who undercut or otherwise try to injure the scheme.

There are also safeguards for the consumer.

The Act gives a real chance to the Milk Producer, the Market-Gardener, the Fruit Grower, the Bacon Producer, and many others.

LABOUR DEMANDS EFFICIENCY AND PROSPERITY

LABOUR'S CALL TO ACTION

THE NATION'S OPPORTUNITY

A decisive opportunity is given to the nation to reconstruct the foundations of its life.

The Capitalist system has broken down even in those countries where its authority was thought to be most secure.

It fails to give employment to many millions of willing workers.

It accumulates vast stocks of commodities which it is unable to distribute.

To re-establish its position, it now demands from the unemployed and the wage-earner the surrender of their hard-won standard of life; and it seeks to force the Government of this country to restrict or abandon those social services which the Labour Party believes to be an essential condition of a democratic society.

False Front of "Unity."

The Labour Government was sacrificed to the clamour of Bankers and Financiers. Because it placed the needs of the workers before the demands of the rich, a so-called "National" Government was installed in its place to wrest from Parliament the authority to satisfy them.

The policy of that Government has proved a disastrous failure.

Formed to maintain that gold standard which it declared in panic-stricken accents to be the indispensable condition of national safety, within less than three weeks it abandoned that standard with the insolent explanation that industry would benefit by the change.

Having failed completely in its original object, it now seeks from the electorate a mandate for the impossible task of rebuilding Capitalism! Composed of men who differ profoundly on all the main principles of public policy, unable to agree upon any of the essential methods by which to restore prosperity to the nation, this ill-assorted association of life-long antagonists seeks a blank cheque from the people for purposes it is unable to define. Acutely divided within itself; headed by men who are now acting in direct contradiction to their own previous convictions; certain, in the near future, to split into fragments, it makes the shameless pretence of being the instrument of national unity.

The Labour Party is confident that the country will not be deceived by claims so arrogant and so dishonest.

We Must Plan or Perish.

The Labour Party seeks a majority from the electorate upon the basis of a coherent and definite programme.

It reaffirms its conviction that Socialism provides the only solution for the evils resulting from unregulated competition and the domination of vested interests. It presses for the extension of publicly-owned industries and services operated solely in the interests of the people. It works for the substitution of co-ordinated planning for the anarchy of individualistic enterprise.

Labour insists that we must plan our civilisation or perish.

Labour Government's Record.

The Labour Party reaffirms its faith in the considered principles of its programme of 1929 laid down in *Labour and the Nation*.

Despite the unexampled difficulties confronted by the Party when, as a Minority Government, and in the face of a world economic crisis, it took office two years ago, it made a substantial beginning in translating that programme into Acts of Parliament.

Its policy of national development resulted not only in economic public works of unprecedented magnitude, but also in strenuous attempts, by legislation and otherwise, to improve the efficiency of our agricultural, transport, coal and other chief industries. The Labour

Government made important improvements in Unemployment Insurance and the consequent transfer of heavy burdens from the Poor Law. There were wide extensions of housing and pensions legislation, and the vigorous promotion of education and the health services. In the international field Labour's record was pre-eminent.

This record was achieved under the intolerable restrictions of its minority position in the House of Commons. Frustrated by political intrigues and the class conscious hostility of the House of Lords and undermined by the organised pressure of business interests, it now asks for power to press forward rapidly to the fulfilment of its programme. In that endeavour it will tolerate no opposition from the House of Lords to the considered mandate of the People; and it will seek such emergency powers as are necessary to the full attainment of its objectives.

Socialist Reconstruction Imperative.

The Labour Party recognises that the present situation calls for bold and rapid action. The decay of capitalist legislation brooks no delay. Measures of Socialist reconstruction must be vigorously pressed forward. That is the task to which Labour will lay its hand.

The Banking System.

The Labour Party is convinced, in the light particularly of experience since 1925, that the banking and credit system of the country can no longer be left in private hands.

It must be brought directly under national ownership and control.

The Labour Party further is convinced of the need to form a National Investment Board with statutory powers for the control of domestic and foreign investment. It would seek powers from the new Parliament to effect this transformation.

Aiming at a monetary policy which will stabilise prices, the Labour Party condemns either currency inflation or a new and disastrous attempt at deflation to force sterling back to the old gold parity.

It will take a vigorous initiative in calling an International Conference to arrive at a concerted monetary policy. It will seek thereby to make the resources of civilisation available for peoples who to-day in the new world, as in the old, are starving in the midst of plenty.

The Labour Party has never failed to insist upon the intimate relation between war debts, reparations and economic depression.

It believes that the general acceptance of President Hoover's Moratorium on War Debts permits a reconsideration of the whole question.

It seeks an immediate reopening of negotiations between the signatories of the Young Plan and the United States with a view to attaining the conditions in which Inter-Allied War Debts and Reparations may be cancelled.

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**THE SOCIALIST
PARTY**
OF GREAT BRITAIN



**AND
QUESTIONS
OF THE DAY**



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#169

*

Socialism

in the

House of Commons



*Extracts from Revised Hansard,
Compiled by J. S. Woodsworth*

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#170

The Bread Tax



By
**Dr. Alfred
Salter, M.P.**

[Price—ONE PENNY]

Published by

**The Labour Party, Transport House,
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#171

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE I.L.P.

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THE CLEAR ISSUE

After serving as the chief influence to bring political consciousness to the Trade Unions and to lead the organised workers to join with them in forming the Labour Party, the I.L.P. is now facing the decision as to whether it will continue to keep step within the ranks of the Party or whether it will march out and try to begin anew the political organisation of the workers on other lines.

Every member of the I.L.P. and every man and woman in the Labour Party may well ask why, at this moment, such an issue should arise.

The issue is a simple one. Ever since 1906, when Keir Hardie first led the group of 30 Labour Members in the House of Commons, the guiding principle penetrating the activities of the Party has been a general sense of discipline—not a cast-iron, rigid sort of discipline, but that sense of common comradeship that leads men working together for common aims to accept a common standard of orderly understanding—to abide by the decision of one's fellows arrived at after friendly and frank discussion or even after straight and hard-hitting debate.

In a very short time it was found that even in a small Party of only 30 men profound differences on great issues arose. On the question of secular education the Roman Catholic member of the Party sought and obtained the forbearance of his colleagues to the extent of being allowed to abstain from supporting a general Party decision. That was the beginning of the "conscience clause" in the Parliamentary Standing Orders that has served for so many years, but which the I.L.P. now seeks to extend. It may be noted in passing that the same religious issue has arisen in the ranks of the I.L.P. and has caused divisions in its own Parliamentary Group.

It need not be disguised that the differences of the War years almost broke the Labour Party in twain. Unity, however, was preserved, and, despite the varying views and resulting friction between the I.L.P. and other sections, general good sense prevailed, and far from being shattered, as so many Parties were in other countries, the British Labour Party emerged stronger, more inspired, and more inspiring than ever before. The solid core of self-disciplined Trade Unionism on the one hand with the clear-eyed vision of the Socialist elements on the other kept the Party united in an advance to political power and responsibility unparalleled in our history.

In 1924 the opportunity came for the Party to take office as a Minority Government. For the first time in our history Labour men and women, Socialists and Trade Unionists, under the most difficult Parliamentary conditions, endeavoured to rule the country, to face the world-wide problems that the Commonwealth presents, and those greater responsibilities that the War and the Conqueror's Peace had left in their train. It was a giant's task, and in the more accurate perspective that the future will afford the first Labour Government will stand out as a landmark in British, Imperial and World affairs.

SOCIALISM IN ACTION

#172

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THE REORGANISATION OF THE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY INDUSTRY



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SOCIALISM IN ACTION

THE
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PLANNING**
OF
TRANSPORT

LC

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
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SOCIALISM IN ACTION

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AND THE
NATIONAL PLANNING
OF
AGRICULTURE


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THE LABOUR PARTY

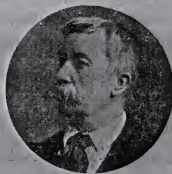
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#176

SOCIALIST SINGERS AND SOCIALIST SONGS

"Voice and vision yet they give us,
Making strong our hands for strife."



"THE RED FLAG"

By JIM CONNELL

THE People's Flag is deepest red;
It shrouded oft our martyred dead,
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their heart's blood dyed its ev'ry fold.

CHORUS:

*Then raise the scarlet standard high !
Within its shade we'll live and die !
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here !*

Look round, the Frenchman loves its blaze;
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's halls its hymns are sung;
Chicago swells the surging throng!

It waved above our infant might*
When all ahead seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow—
We must not change its colour now!

It well recalls the triumphs past;
It gives the hope of peace at last.
The banner bright, the symbol plain
Of human right and human gain.

It suits to-day the weak and base,
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place,
To cringe before the rich man's frown
And haul the sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered swear we all
To bear it onward till we fall !
Come dungeon dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn!

Labour party

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#177

THREE KINDS OF BOGIES

ARE HAWKED ROUND THE COUNTRYSIDE BY
TORIES TO FRIGHTEN THE FARMERS AGAINST
THE LABOUR PARTY.

These "bogey-bogey" Tories tell you that:—

Labour will farm from Whitehall.

Labour is out for "control."

Labour wants to "Nationalise."

Labour DOES say

There can be no assured future for British Farming until, as one of the great national industries, it is fully organised and plays its part in the scheme of planned services which is Socialism.

Labour DOES say

Socialise the Land. Yes—but why? To saddle the nation with the upkeep of a lot of neglected land and tumble-down farm buildings? Not a bit of it! To buy out a bunch of landlords at attractive prices who are just waiting for farming prospects to improve to "pass the buck" to their farming tenants? Not a bit of it!

Private landlordism of the last century has broken down; it would like to saddle the farmer with its ruination. But how can the farmer afford to buy the decadent landlord out and yet get on with his job of good farming at the same



[P.T.O.]

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#178

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[P.T.O.]

Labour party

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#179

FARM WORKERS!



**STOP TO THINK
A MINUTE**

About your Wages

Before the War farm wages averaged from 16s. to 18s. During the War the Corn Production Act was passed for the farmers' benefit. Labour and rural Trade Unionism demanded something for the workers. The Wages Board machinery was set up.

By 1920 the workers' representatives forced wages up to an average *minimum* wage of 46s. 10½d. The Coalition Government, under Lloyd George, abolished the Board in 1921. Wages fell to 28s. by 1924.

In 1924 the first Labour Government restored the Wages Boards. Despite Tory and Liberal opposition to a Central Board with power to revise County rates, Labour's measure won increased wages.

[P.T.O.]

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#186

NATIONALISATION

SOME FACTS FOR
MR. BALDWIN AND
OTHERS

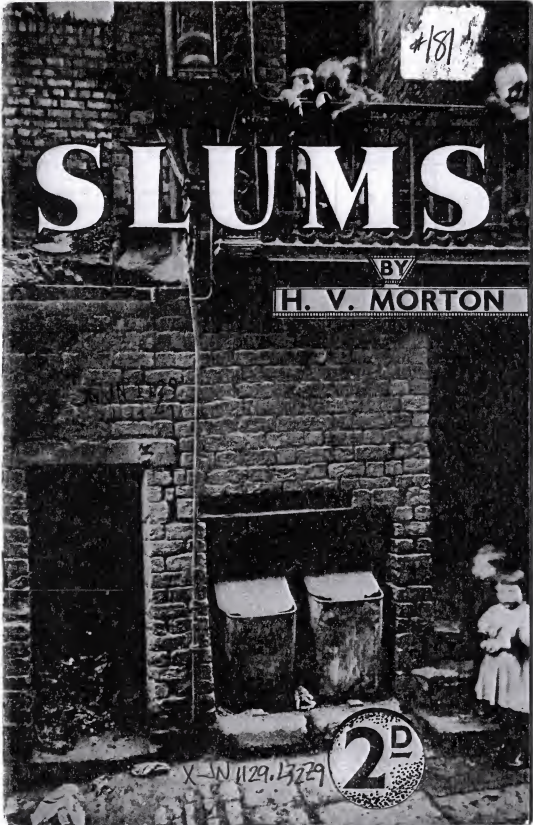
BY

A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

*Being a reprint, with additions, of a
series of articles in the "Daily Herald."*

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SLUMS

BY

H. V. MORTON

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MARXISM

AFTER
FIFTY YEARS

By
R. PALME DUTT

TWOPENCE

LABOUR MONTHLY PAMPHLETS No. 1

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FASCISM
or
SOCIALISM?

Gallagher—Collier
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Edinburgh, March 25th
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